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HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

AND

REFLECTIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT

OF

HOLLAND.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

AND

REFLECTIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT

OF

H O L L A N D.

BY

LOUIS BONAPARTE,
EX-KING OF HOLLAND.

Do what you ought, happen what may.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LACKINGTON, HUGHES, HARDING, MAVOR, AND JONES, FINSBURY-SQUARE.

1820.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE publishers beg leave respectfully to acquaint the reader, that the work they have the honour to present to his notice, is translated faithfully from the original and only manuscript copy; which was transmitted to this country by the author for the express purpose of publication. This copy remains in their possession, and is open to the inspection of all who may be induced by curiosity, or a wish to convince themselves of its genuineness, to examine it.

The work itself, indeed, will be found to bear sufficient internal evidence of its authenticity; a point so essential to the reader's satisfaction: and were farther confirmation required, the publishers could refer to the testimony of a distinguished nobleman of this country, who perused the manuscript at Rome, while in possession of the author; and who has identified it since its arrival in England.

It has been suggested by competent judges, who have read the manuscript, that the title, "Historical Documents

Documents of the Reign of Louis Bonaparte," by no means does justice to the contents of the volumes; as they include much personal anecdote of Napoleon, and of the different branches of his family, as well as of various distinguished personages of other countries, who were connected with the political transactions of the eventful period here recorded. But a desire, to give the work to the public precisely as it came to the editor's hands, induced him to forego the advantages that might have accrued from a title more attractive to the general reader.

The narration is given in the third person; a mode unusual here, though common abroad, and sanctioned by the practice of antiquity. But to have altered this would have detracted from the genuineness of the work; the having retained it, therefore, needs no apology.

With the character of the author the British public is not wholly unacquainted. The paternal mildness, that influenced his government of Holland; his integrity, probity, and good faith, are generally confessed. These virtues were by no means in unison with the policy of his ambitious and less scrupulous brother, and led to the dissolution of ties, that could not possibly subsist long between characters so dissimilar. It is farther to be presumed, that the acknowledged probity of the author is a sufficient pledge for the fidelity of such parts of this narrative, as he gives on his own authority, even when unaccompanied by proofs. On the correctness of the reasoning, the opinions of the author,

author, or the general merit of the performance, it is not necessary here to obtrude an opinion. The work is fairly brought before the public, to whose impartial tribunal it is with all deference respectfully submitted.

April 10, 1820.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

AND

REFLECTIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT

OF

HOLLAND.

This work embraces the affairs of Holland from the year 1806 to the year 1810.

It is divided into six parts.

1. The introduction.
2. The accession to the throne, and the year 1806.
3. The year 1807.
4. The year 1808.
5. The year 1809.
6. The year 1810, and the conclusion.

PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

Motives and Object of this Publication.

THE man who has been placed at the head of a nation, but is no longer in that situation, is doubly bound to give an account of the period of his life, during which he held the reins of power.

Were it even possible for the author wholly to forget the part which he acted, yet history and posterity would not be silent, either with respect to the affairs of Holland for five years, or the concern which a brother of the Emperor Napoleon had in them.

History is a judgment pronounced on the conduct of public men; and when it is written by him whose actions form the chief subject of it, it may also be viewed as an account rendered to the nation, and to those in it towards whom he had duties to discharge.

The actions of public men, especially when they take place under circumstances of an eminently extraordinary nature, ought not to be hastily judged. To be able to form a true, that is to say, an equitable judgment, respecting such men, we ought to know the precise situation in which they were placed, the means that were at their disposal, the obstacles and difficulties they had to overcome, and the public and private, known and secret, events, which disturbed the course of their life. The actions of men are not the sole result of their intelligence, or of the events and vicissitudes of the world; they are the result also of the combination of these events and vicissitudes with the character, and perhaps with the temperament, of the individual. Genius does not depend on ourselves: the abilities only which are necessary to enable a man to live respectably are shared alike by all.

A man naturally moderate and unambitious, yet not deficient in talents, and of a decided character, felt a pride and satisfaction,

tion, in seeing his brother and his family the object of the choice of his fellow-citizens. Warmly attached to his country, having no conception of any greater advantage, than that of the independent existence and occupations of a private individual, he was, contrary to his own wishes, first placed in a situation near the imperial throne, and afterwards elevated to the throne of Holland. Transplanted suddenly into a foreign country, isolated, with no support, no other preparation, and no other guides, than his heart and his own reflections, he had at first to combat the numerous obstacles, which, under critical circumstances, it was natural that a foreigner and a king should meet with among a people endowed with superior intelligence, just and reasonable by nature, but at the same time professing republican sentiments, hard to please, censorious, hostile to every species of restraint, and especially restraint imposed on them by foreigners. He had soon also to struggle with the ostensible proceedings and the secret intrigues of the government, which ought

ought to have been his support, which alone could support him, and to the influence of which he was indebted for his elevation. Within and without, wherever he turned his eyes, he found only obstacles and snares, and nowhere encouragement, counsel that he could depend upon, assistance, or hope; for as his duty was always the rule of his conduct, and his principles flowed from his heart, it was impossible for him to have changed them, had he even wished to do so; and therefore any application to the enemies of France, any favour or hope from that quarter, were, with respect to him, altogether out of the question. When, in addition to all this, it is considered, that the country over which he reigned was in a situation of such difficulty and embarrassment, more particularly with regard to its finances, that its safety was absolutely despaired of; when it is considered, that the state of events in Europe, far from serving to improve the prospects of Holland, became every day more and more unfavourable; a curiosity will naturally be felt to know,

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in what manner such a country was able for four years to make head against these accumulated difficulties; and the conclusion will probably be drawn from the recital, that the safety of a country ought never to be despaired of, so long as individuals are possessed of property, and the government is identified with the nation, and guided by the voice of public opinion.

It will be seen, that if the government in question at length fell, after five years of existence, and four of administration, it was, because there is a limit to human power and human efforts; but the attitude and exertions of the Dutch during these five years form one of the noblest internal spectacles that a nation can exhibit, and constitute the highest eulogy that can be bestowed on it.

As to Louis, he neither merited, nor was ever ambitious of great glory. He had performed no great actions; he had rendered no great services to his country, though he served in its armies for thirteen years; he did nothing for his family: still, however, in the

the midst of circumstances and events of the most extraordinary nature, he never thought of himself, always sacrificing his personal interests to those of others.

The fulfilment of his duty was the constant rule of his conduct. In short, his endeavour was to injure no one: and to this first impulse of his heart, he sacrificed prosperity, repose, and even reputation.

May the following recital prove to the Dutch; to those of his countrymen who knew him; to the Emperor Napoleon in his *incomprehensible* imprisonment; and to the Sovereigns with whom he was in habits of intercourse, that such were in reality the motives of his public and private conduct; that he always deserved their esteem, and the esteem of all good men; and, that nothing is more unmerited or more unjust, than the sort of distrust with which a man is surrounded and watched, who has grown old before his time, who has been sufficiently tried by a life full of difficulties and troubles, whom rank and fortune have only served to render more

more susceptible, and in whose sentiments, no fears, no vicissitudes, no interests could effect the slightest change. But in troublous times, moderate men are sure to suffer; seeking to avoid excess, they are necessarily exposed to the attacks of all parties; and it may almost be said, that there are periods, when our country is nothing more than a name, the ties of blood are only prejudices, and duties the portion of dupes!

ACCESSION TO THE THRONE IN THE YEAR 1806.

State of Europe in 1806.

The enemies of the Emperor Napoleon saw themselves deceived in their hopes. They had imagined, that the French, no longer fighting for liberty, but for a master, would cease to be the same; they supposed, that Napoleon, to whom his exploits in Italy and Egypt had given celebrity, but who had never yet

yet attempted the vast theatre of the Rhine, where immense plains, to which he was a stranger, rendered it necessary for him to adopt a new system, would at least be unable to renew the wonders of Castiglione and Marengo: they were deceived—the French proved, as they have uniformly done, in an incontrovertible manner, that they are always invincible, when they are well commanded. The Emperor, from calculations which no one but himself could make, without changing his system, developed an art unknown before. The world saw him direct the movements of ten or twelve armies at once, with the same facility with which he had commanded one. He was to be found every where, and every where at the critical moment. He turned the Austrians in all their positions, cut their lines, obliging them to change their plans, which he hardly left them time to form; and thus commenced his operations in an inimitable manner. He gave his enemies credit for genius and foresight, which they did not possess; and, as his

his plans were formed accordingly, events turned out directly the reverse of what he had expected. He always obtained greater advantages, and more important results, than those on which he had counted; while his enemies, whose calculations were influenced by their unjust contempt of him, found more obstacles than they ever dreamed they should have to contend with. Hence the prodigies of Marengo, of Ulm, &c. Europe, as well as France, could no longer doubt, that the successful exploits of the French armies, under the conduct of the Emperor, were attributable to his genius.

The French, having laid aside their fears as to the influence of the change of government on their military glory, after this memorable war of 1805, saw, with feelings of pride, a great part of the German nobility thronging to pay homage to their chief. Already in the winter of 1802, the Prince of Orange-Nassau, son of the old Stadtholder, had come to solicit an indemnity from France, and obtained the principality of

of Fulda. In the winter of 1805-6, a great number of German princes and lords were in Paris. The Emperor, who had drawn into his alliance the greater part of the members of the Germannic body, saw himself surrounded and courted by them.

After the conclusion of peace, he viewed Prussia without fear; but her strong threats at the period of the battle of Austerlitz had filled him with some degree of resentment. He could not forget the alarms she had given him, nor could he conceal from himself, that the fate of France was then in her hands.

Turkey had returned to her natural ties of friendship with France, though it still manifested a degree of distrust towards a power, that had seized on Egypt in the midst of peace.

Italy, placed by the occupation of Naples in a state of complete subjection, presented only a single point of resistance, namely Gaëta: all the rest was united to France.

Spain, less civilized than the rest of Europe, still preserved the rudeness, the strength, the sobriety,

sobriety, and the character of its early ages, notwithstanding the superstition of the people and the corruption of the grandees. The character of this people, however, was still not known, and almost despised in France, though an impartial traveller could easily discern the energy and the intrinsic merit of the nation. But the Spaniards had been beaten, during the revolution, by French Generals, deemed by the officers of the period of which we are now treating very inferior to themselves; so that Spain was less esteemed and feared by the Emperor, than any other country in Europe. Austria had been vanquished a second time, and reduced to peace. Russia was the only country, for which any real consideration was entertained in France. Negotiations were going on with England. Let us now come to the situation of Holland.

When we consider the humid, rude, and desert appearance of the low, inundated, and, properly speaking, artificial soil of this country, excavated, on the one hand, and gradually wasted by the principal rivers of Europe, which

which are discharged on it, and constantly menaced by the stormy and violent sea of these latitudes, on the other; when we behold the immense labours which the Dutch are constantly obliged to carry on for the preservation of their country, and the keeping it above water; when we reflect on the necessity for the incessant display of a prodigious activity and industry, to procure subsistence from an unfertile, expensive, and trembling surface, in an unfavourable climate, we can hardly conceive, how the inhabitants can possibly be fond of their country. We pity them for not being more favoured by Heaven; and we feel disposed to compare them to an assemblage of exiles, expelled from the bosom of other societies, and condemned to live against their will on an ungrateful and unhealthy soil. But, on examining more closely the manners and the character of this people, we discover their candour, their good sense, their attachment to their duties, their patience, their love of labour, the moderation with which they indulge in pleasures, their gratitude and love towards

towards the Author of all good; when we see the aptitude of the Dutch for whatever they undertake, the great men whom they have produced in every department without exception, the perfect state of their agriculture, their commerce, their advancement in the arts and sciences, the high degree of their civilization, and their intelligence; we then feel ourselves disposed to compare this people rather to an assemblage of philosophers, indignant at the wickedness and follies of other men, and seeking to live in a retired corner agreeably to their reason and their conscience, and regarding with pity the pomp, the noisy pleasures, the grandeur, the luxury, the frivolity, and the immorality of other men; or to a people chosen and destined by the Most High to serve as a model to nations.

Indeed no nation is more indebted to Providence than the Dutch. Every year their territory is several times threatened with total destruction, either by the rivers which overflow it, or by the tempests of the ocean, which so frequently strew the coast with wrecks,

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and raise their menacing waves above the dikes and the highest edifices.

If therefore a people exist, to whom more than another independence, liberty, good morals, moderation, courage, and religion, are indispensably necessary, the Dutch are undoubtedly that people.

To the nature of things, more than to the tyranny of Philip II. and the oppressions of his agents, they were indebted for their liberty in the sixteenth century. What virtues did they display! what confidence in Providence! and how great was the assistance they derived from these sources!

They settled themselves in marshes, the possession of which no one envied them, because they were then poor and weak, and their soil wretched.

They excited the jealousy of other nations, only when their efforts had triumphed over all these obstacles.

But far from being then able to enjoy in peace their prosperity, the fruit of their labours; far from being able to exert themselves

selves for their consolidation and grandeur, they had to combat two more terrible enemies—internal rivalry and discord. Thus, the social compact failed to attain solidity; the inequality and uncertainty of the law continued to increase like their dikes, which were multiplied without end on a limited territory, upon no general plan, with no order, no view to future utility, but solely as the wants of the moment, and the partial interests of individuals, dictated.

Still, however, notwithstanding all these formidable inconveniences, the country maintained itself for two centuries in the rank of a first-rate power, and resisted or kept in awe every other, down to our own times.

Happy would it have been for Holland, if, in this period, it could have profited by the blessings of Providence, the lessons of events, and the facility with which it might have established its government on uniform, liberal, and strong laws! advantages necessary to give it the strength, unity, and activity in which it was deficient; necessary to counteract

the decay of the virtues indispensable to a republic; necessary to remedy the selfishness of the aristocracy, or rather the oligarchy of the citizens, the brutality of the lower orders of so commercial a state, and baffle the intrigues of neighbouring powers, which, gaining ground every day in the republic, and making an incessant progress against the patriotic spirit, the union and the virtues of the nation, could not fail at last to shake the social edifice.

Though the moral superiority of this people be incontestable, we cannot, at the same time, conceal from ourselves, that, partaking of the general corruption, its morals have long been on the decline; but, as the progress of other nations in evil has been much more rapid, the Dutch remain nearly in the same relation to these nations, as that in which they formerly stood.

The Princes of the house of Orange had an arduous task imposed on them; for, independently of the labours and exploits, which they were obliged to undertake to save their country,

country, they had to combat the proud and petty spirit of the civic oligarchy; the prejudices deeply rooted in the general mind; the inert and censorious character of a great number of individuals, and the selfishness concealed under the exterior, of the interests of particular towns or casts.

It was a misfortune for Holland, that William I. died without settling the social contract of his country on a liberal and solid basis, such as the political situation of Europe demanded, and capable of being cemented by time. Instead of this, however, the Act of Union, drawn up in haste, to meet the exigencies of a crisis, and unfortunately considered as a holy ark, which it was not allowable to touch, could not fail, from its nature, to become enfeebled; to impede the consolidation of the state; to strengthen and encourage the provincial, to the detriment of the general, spirit of the nation; to loosen the ties which it had formed, and to terminate at last, by effecting the ruin of the country.

When a state of a middle order is so

situated, that its power and influence surpass its extent and population, and place it in the rank of great empires, it must either continue augmenting, till its real power rises to a level with the part which it has to act, or it must fall to its positive station. By augmentation, we do not merely mean increase of territory, population, and strength, but also internal consolidation; that is to say, homogenealness and unity in the government, love of country, and national manners. Now, how was it possible to avoid apprehensions for the future, when England, France, Germany, and even Russia were progressively improving, while Holland remained stationary? How could the Dutch help feeling, that they were changing the laws and ties which they cherished, when they ceased to improve them, ceased to place them in parity with those of other nations? Why did they not imitate England? Did William III., because he was its King, fetter the English more than he did the Dutch, as the Stadtholder of Holland?

How

How could they possibly avoid dreading the future? How could they hope to preserve their ancient manners and virtues, when they saw cities treating almost separately with foreign powers, and commerce, the very basis of their existence, placing them in constant and multiplied relations with every other nation?

William III. seems to have been sensible of the true situation of his country; but whether the throne of England weakened his patriotism for Holland, or he was worn out by the obstacles and difficulties he had had to encounter, he merely sketched the plan of reform, and stopped short at its commencement. It was undoubtedly a difficult task, to convert Holland into a monarchical state, but he would probably have succeeded, after the horrible death of the De Witts, or after his expedition to England. At this last period, Holland, threatened, and still subject to its Stadtholder, then King of England, might certainly have been induced, to adopt the free but monarchical government of the English.

But

But *in all times, inconveniences*, says Montesquieu, *have given rise to inconveniences*, and those which resulted in Holland from a disunited government, if the term may be used, were not felt; because the very successes of the Princes of Orange, and the great men of the republic, successes attributable to their genius and the necessity of counterbalancing, by an effectual display of zeal and talents, the defects of the Constitution, served to persuade the nation, and gave some weight to the assertions of the oligarchists, *that the national glory was the result of the original organization of the state, and that the contrary opinion, maintained by the Stadtholders and their friends, was the mere pretence of ambition; that a General, to head the armies in critical conjunctures, was all that was required, and that the nation ought above all things to avoid making any changes in the Treaty of Union, that palladium of the public security, and the security of individuals, &c.*

This mode of reasoning was so favourable to the ambition of the crowd of burgomasters,

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schepens * and other partial sovereigns of the country, that it could hardly fail to be favourably viewed; and as the particular interests of the House of Orange were to a certain extent identified with the general interests of the nation, it was impossible to separate them, in the conduct and measures of that family.

To these causes it must undoubtedly be ascribed, that Holland so long remained stationary, and that its government acquired neither consolidation nor energy. And even when the force of truth, or the course of events, obliged the Dutch to make the office of Stadtholder hereditary, they availed themselves of the first favourable opportunity for abolishing it.

Holland passed the first half of the last century without Stadtholders; and from that period we must date its decline. William IV., on being re-established as Stadtholder, was

* A magistrate whose functions nearly resemble those of an alderman.—*Trans.*

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aware of the cause of this decline, but failed in the project, which he seems to have entertained, of elevating himself to the sovereign authority. William V., the last Stadtholder, who succeeded him, found it extremely difficult to maintain his authority; and the American revolution, which took place in his time, and in which nothing effective was done by the Dutch, is a sufficient proof of the decline of their power.

The intelligence, and the spirit of innovation and republicanism, which were every day gaining ground in Europe, impelled the nation towards a system the reverse of what it ought to have adopted. The Dutch had not sagacity enough to see, that if other states of Europe, stimulated by the progress of knowledge, and the reflective character of the times, felt the necessity of an introduction of liberal ideas into their form of government, they themselves were by no means in the same situation. To better their condition, they ought rather to have given a more monarchical stamp to their political constitution; and

and to have modified it, by concentrating that of the United Provinces, in order to prevent Holland from taking any part in the movements which were in preparation, and secure it at the same time from the danger of excess. But this was the last thing thought of in Holland, on the approach of the storm in Europe. The good and true Dutchmen were hardly perceptible among the French, English, Prussians, and Germans, who were seen in the country.

The invasion of the Prussians completely destroyed every thing like public spirit, and all hopes of melioration. From the moment the House of Orange, to which the nation was indebted for its independence and glory, called strangers into the interior of the country, and became dependent on their support, political enterprise and patriotism were necessarily at an end. Society cannot subsist without patriotism, though it has been said, that it is only necessary in a republic, because tyranny destroys it. It appears, however, to be

be indispensable in every state, which is not absolutely despotic.

France beheld the Prussian invasion of Holland, and received as refugees the enemies of the House of Orange. When the French Revolution kindled a general war in Europe, these refugees succeeded, in obtaining a declaration of war against Holland, and returned to their country with arms in their hands, as guides of a foreign army. The country of William and of Vanderwerff had now no citizens but those by whom the Prussians had been introduced, and those who were the conductors of the French.

From the period of 1795 down to 1806, Holland wholly followed the politics of France. Abandoned by her allies on the entrance of the French army; betrayed by a great number of her fugitive citizens; invaded during a severe winter, which, by covering all the inundations with a strong ice, paralyzed her means of defence; she was reduced to the necessity of concluding a very disadvantageous

geous treaty. By that treaty the French army was entitled to occupy the whole of the republic, which was bound to pay an enormous contribution of two hundred and twenty millions of livres (9,166,666*l.*); but its independence and the integrity of its territory were guarantied, and its position was immediately afterwards secured by a treaty of alliance with France. From that time to the accession of the Emperor Napoleon, France preserved so great an influence over Holland, that it was always obliged, however reluctantly, and whatever resistance it might display, to adopt at last every change introduced into the French government, in order, either to justify the proceedings at Paris, or to gratify the self-love of the individuals successively elevated to the helm of affairs.

The English contributed to increase the influence of France in Holland, and to prevent it from regaining an entire independence. In concert with the Prussians, they made a descent at the Helder in 1799, when the

the nation rose, and, with the aid of a French army, expelled them from their territory.

From thenceforward the tone assumed by the commander of the French troops, and the agents of the French government, as well as their style of conduct, were wholly unjustifiable. The number of troops that remained in Holland was great; and without assuming the entire direction of the internal affairs of the country, France interfered more and more every day in every thing with which it could meddle, and insensibly acquired too great an influence in the state.

Still, however, the different governments of republican France, and that of the Emperor, under the title of consul, did not exasperate the nation, because it was left in the free exercise of its laws and customs. The French were then satisfied with the external forms of the government, and the indirect contributions, which they drew from the country under all sorts of pretexts. If equity and the rights of nations were not entirely

entirely respected, they were at least still recognized. The different republican governments of France had always address enough, not to demand from the Dutch the sacrifice of their laws and customs. They followed the advice of Montesquieu, that *in every government men are capable of obedience.*

The Dutch are naturally fond of labour and of a domestic life. Constant, not easily exasperated, though, when exasperated, terrible in their rage, they dislike commotion and injustice. Hence they were satisfied with the preservation of their rights, their independence, and their laws and customs; and were even astonished, that governments so new, and formed in times of trouble, were not altogether insensible to the principles of equity and the law of nations. In the embarrassment in which they were constantly kept by the sacrifices exacted from them, they consoled themselves with the certainty, that they yielded only to force, and that it was still possible for them to meet all their wants,

wants, by redoubling their zeal, industry, and labour. The sea, their true soil, was still open to them, and they were not without hope, that the conclusion of a maritime peace would restore to them a real independence, and an entire freedom of trade.

On the accession of the Emperor Napoleon to the consulship, several vain attempts were made, to induce the Dutch to adopt an anti-republican form of government: they consented to a reduction of the number of individuals by whom the affairs of the nation were managed; but they could not be brought to agree to a more considerable change.

When an hereditary monarchical government was re-established in France in 1804, the Dutch considered themselves supremely happy, that, not compelled to follow the example, they were allowed to preserve their laws, customs, and privileges, on condition of choosing a single elective magistrate, under the name of Pensionary Councillor.

This change did not produce any great sensation.

sensation. They had become accustomed to follow at á distance the novelties which succeeded each other in the French government; and they suspected no other object, in the attempts to establish in Holland a government bearing a greater resemblance to that of France, than self-love, the moral effect of the measure on the French nation, and the additional facility it might give, in exacting contributions and fresh sacrifices from the country.

But on the renewal of the war with Austria, towards the end of the year 1805, the new successes of the Emperor induced him, to form projects of a different nature. Public opinion at that time was very much divided in France with respect to Holland.

One party conceived, that force was a sufficient ground for dispensing with the laws of equity and the right of nations, and thought it ridiculous, that Holland should not be united to France.

Others again wished, to exchange that part which

which was situated on the left bank of the water, in order to unite the strong places of Brabant, as far as the river Eendragt, to France, and thus complete its natural boundaries. They wished also to obtain the strong places of Bergen-op-zoom, Breda, Bois-le-duc, Grave, and Nimeguen; but to leave the isles of Bommel, Schowen, Tholem, and Zealand, to the Republic, which cannot dispense with these territories, while they would have been at the same time more burdensome than profitable to France.

A third party maintained, on the other hand, that it was much more important to preserve Holland entire than to divide it, and especially than to take possession of it. The country, they said, would lose all its value when sunk in the vast empire of France. They thought, that, even for the sake of the commerce of France, it would be better to leave her frontiers vague and undetermined, than to dispute the possession of a few patches of territory with a people, whose industry,

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and wealth, from their vicinity, had given, and still give, such universal advantages to France.

That the essential point, was to continue to possess the friendship and confidence of that people; and that England and Russia, besides, would never allow France to retain definitively the possession of a country, essential to all nations, in the existing state of their political relations and commerce.

That, in this point of view, France was the country most interested in the prosperity and independence of Holland, which could dispense with England, if favoured by France, but with which England could not dispense, so long as this little country should remain independent. By means of Holland alone the hope could be entertained, of being able to reach these proud islanders, and reduce them in some measure to a state of dependence on the continent. That the apparent contradiction, of the mutual utility and rivalry, as to Holland and England,

admitted of a natural explanation, when circumstances were attentively and impartially considered.

That the Dutch, honest, sincere, peaceable, and few in number, when compared with the great nation, were most useful allies, and most convenient neighbours. That if in any great state, similar to the new empire, it so happened, that there could be given to a part of the territory all the qualities, which render Holland so useful and valuable a neighbour to France, the government of such a state ought not to hesitate a moment to make this useful sacrifice, to separate such part from the state, and give it independence, for the sake of the important advantages to be derived from it.

Let us now proceed to inquire, who and what was Louis, and the situation in which he was placed at the period in question.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

It is not necessary to enter into any account of the birth and family of Louis. Few persons are unacquainted with what has any relationship to the Emperor Napoleon. It may not, however, be amiss to notice several gross calumnies, which hatred and blindness have disseminated against the Bonaparte family. It is no doubt true, as was happily remarked by Beaumarchais, that a calumnious report is sure to leave a stain; we may repel the evil, but we cannot altogether efface the impression. An impartial reader may always, however, in the case of two opinions, discover the truth, if the truth be before him; and for that reason, the author of a history, of which he forms himself the principal subject, ought to publish that history in his lifetime. It seems, as if we gave an implicit assent to doubts and objections, when we do not place ourselves in a state of readiness to answer

them, or do not answer them at all; and this is precisely the case of those, who reserve the publication of their memoirs till after their death.

It has been pretended by certain libellers, that the Bonaparte family was neither noble nor French; it has even been maintained that Charles, the father of Napoleon, filled very inferior situations; and that the mother, and her daughters, were in the greatest poverty, when they lived at Marseilles, &c. &c. In books which have even been honoured with the title of history, horrible calumnies are stated with respect to the domestic affairs of Louis—calumnies, to which an ill-assorted marriage, entered into without any reciprocity of inclination, has afforded but too plausible a pretext.

It is allowable, and even natural, that a man like the Emperor Napoleon, who has performed so many great actions, should despise such puerile calumnies; but one, who is ambitious of no other glory, than the possession

session of a fair reputation among his contemporaries, who has always professed to cherish truth, and to delight in hearing her voice, cannot disdain her assistance when it is favourable to him, or at least much less unfavourable, than is pretended by haughty and bold writers in the train of the foreign armies, who invade their country.

The island of Corsica was ceded to France under the reign of Louis XV.; and Louis Bonaparte was born under Louis XVI. in 1778. His brothers were also born under the French domination, and consequently are Frenchmen by birth.

It is undoubtedly true, that this family is of Italian origin; because, before the cession of the island to France, it belonged to Italy, and the Bonapartes were first settled in Tuscany and the Venetian dominions. One of their Tuscan ancestors, settled at Sarzano, in the state of Genoa, removed to the small town of Ajaccio, in the time of the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibellines; but the Bonapartes are not the less French on that account.

Their

Their name was spelt originally Buónaparte; and they were called *de* Buonaparte before the revolution. It was only when the use of the article *de* was suppressed, that they began to write Bonaparte.

Charles Bonaparte was very much distinguished on account of his birth, his intellectual attainments, and his character. He fought, it is true, for the independence of his country with Paoli, and even quitted the island with that general; but, recalled by Louis XV. and his relations, he returned to his family, and became a good Frenchman. He was several times sent as deputy from the noblesse to the court, from which he received many favours. His sons, Joseph and Napoleon, were educated in the royal military schools. His daughter, Eliza, had her education at St. Cyr. Their uncles, Fesch and Lucian, went through their studies in the seminary of Aix. Finally, Louis was destined also to a military school, when the revolution broke out.

It was in one of his missions to Versailles, that Charles was seized by the disease, which terminated

terminated his existence. The principal physicians of the kingdom were consulted without benefit, and he died at Montpellier, in the arms of his son Joseph and his brother-in-law Fesch, by whom he was accompanied.

Madame Bonaparte, the mother, was not of the Fesch but of the Ramolini family, of which the origin was also Italian. The Ramolinis are descended from the *Counts of Colalto*. The first, who settled at Ajaccio, married the daughter of the Doge of Genoa, and received concessions and distinguished honours from that republic. The titles of this family were in the records of the town of Ajaccio a few years ago.

The mother of Madame Bonaparte entered into a second marriage with M. Fesch, a Swiss captain in one of the regiments of that nation in the service of France, which happened to be then garrisoned in Ajaccio. He was a Protestant and native of Bâsle; and could only obtain the hand of the object of his affections, on the condition of his becoming Catholic

Catholic—a condition to which he actually submitted.

As to the nobility of the Bonaparte family, whatever libellers may pretend, it is very ancient, and well identified in the Annals of Italy (see Supplement, note, No. 1.) It is said, that when the marriage of Napoleon with the Arch-duchess Maria Louisa was about to take place, the French Emperor, in answer to some remonstrances on the subject, observed, *I should not enter into this alliance, if I did not know, that her origin is as noble as my own.* A collection of documents, extracted from the archives of different towns of Italy, was then presented to the Emperor Napoleon, from which it appeared, that the Bonapartes, at a very remote period, were lords of Treviso. Napoleon threw it into the fire, energetically observing, "I wish my nobility to commence only with myself, and to hold all my titles from the French people."

The Bonaparte family fixed their residence in

in Provence, when Paoli, the Corsican commander, violated his oath, and delivered the island into the hands of the English. The Bonapartes chose to see their houses set on fire, their estates laid waste, and to sacrifice their fortune, rather than enter into any alliance with the enemies of their country. They first settled at Lavalette, near Toulon, and afterwards at Marseilles. They certainly lived in this last city, at the period of the siege of Toulon; but the reports which have been circulated respecting their situation at that time, are atrocious calumnies. In fact, Napoleon had the command of the artillery at the siege of Toulon; that is to say, he was second in command in that army; and Joseph married, at this very period, Julia Clari, sister of the first merchant in Marseilles; a family in high estimation, and enjoying a consideration equal to that of the first nobility. Julia brought her husband a fortune of half a million of livres (20,833*l.*). These facts, the truths of which the reader may easily ascertain, afford a sufficient

ficient proof of the vulgar malice of the libellers in question.

During the siege of Toulon, Napoleon frequently visited Marseilles, for the purpose of hastening the preparations for the siege, and, at the same time, seeing his family.

In one of his visits, he prevailed on his mother, to send Louis to the school of Châlons, that he might undergo the examination necessary for his entrance into the corps of artillery, to which he had always been destined. He took his departure, furnished with passports, examined by the representatives of the people. On passing through Lyons, he was exposed to great danger, as that city was then the theatre of the most violent and the horrible revolutionary massacres. People were crowded together without distinction of sex or rank, and coolly destroyed by their fellow-citizens, by discharges of grape-shot, on the public walks. Louis, who was without attendants or protectors, and scarcely fourteen years of age, owed his safety wholly to the

the passport signed by the representatives of the people, a passport which he always carried with him, and which he was obliged to exhibit several times a day, to persons of the most savage and ferocious appearance, by whom he was frequently stopped in the streets. He continued his journey, but on reaching Châlons-sur-Saone, he learned, that the school of artillery at Châlons-sur-Marne was dissolved. In his alarm, he lent a ready belief to this rumour, and returned to his family without delay. Though they were surprised, they were, at the same time, very much gratified at seeing him, as the leaving home and travelling in the interior were then attended with great danger. Shortly after his return to Marseilles, the city of Toulon was retaken. This first achievement of his brother procured him the rank of general of brigade, and the head command of the artillery of the army of the Maritime Alps, to which he repaired, carrying Louis with him, whom he intended to place in his staff, with the rank of sub-lieutenant.

When

When Napoleon reached Toulon, he inspected the different works. He ascertained the effects produced by the various attacks that had been made, and the counter-operations of the enemy; and he experienced the satisfaction, of being convinced of the accuracy of all his plans. To his young brother who accompanied him this examination proved an excellent and instructive lesson. When they came to fort *Pharon*, which had been attacked by another general, Napoleon observed, that the assault had been attempted in a part, which was nearly inaccessible; and two hundred men were stretched on the spot. After several useless and destructive attempts, the only rational plan was adopted, namely, the occupation of the neighbouring rocks, which were nearly equal in height to the fort: but it required the death of so many brave soldiers, to suggest to the general a measure, which common sense alone should have pointed out to him, that of turning the mountain, scaling the chain of rocks to the north, and commencing the attack from that

that quarter alone. On seeing the ground covered with dead bodies, Napoleon exclaimed, "If I had commanded here, all these brave men would have been still alive. *Learn from this example, young man, how indispensable and imperatively necessary it is, for those to possess knowledge, who aspire to the command of others.*"

Louis made his first campaign in the army of the Maritime Alps. He was present at the taking of Oneille, and the battle del Cairo. Napoleon wished to take advantage of these instances of success, to turn Ceva, and descend into the fertile plains of Piedmont; and he then communicated a plan for the invasion of Italy, exactly conformable to that, which he afterwards carried into execution. Dumerbion, the general in command, durst not adopt it. The representatives of the people, in whom the power was vested, had not the slightest knowledge of military affairs; so that the campaign ended with these first exploits, which, though glorious in themselves, led to no results.

Louis

Louis was placed on the staff of his brother, without belonging to any regiment; but a law obliged all the staff officers to join some regiment, and he was under the necessity of accepting the situation of lieutenant in a company of volunteer artillery, in garrison at St. Tropez, to which place he accordingly repaired. He remained there several months.

At this time a great promotion took place in all the armies. Napoleon received another destination, being appointed to the command of the artillery of the army of the West, that is to say, the army opposed to the Vendeans. He was exceedingly discontented with this change. He repaired to Paris, to complain of this crying injustice. He reached it two days after the period of the 20th of May, when the people of Paris laid siege to the convention, and massacred Ferraud the president. The destination of Napoleon had not merely been changed: he had even been removed from the artillery, and placed at the head of a brigade of infantry. This change

was

was viewed by him in the light of an insult, and he refused to submit to it. He remained at Paris as a private individual to the 5th of October; that is to say, nearly five months.

At this last period, all the military, and more particularly all the general officers, were summoned to the defence of the convention, which was attacked by a great proportion of the inhabitants of Paris. Napoleon was appointed second in command, but the representative of the people, who was invested with the chief command, submitted entirely to his arrangements. In a few moments all the attacks were repulsed, the mobs dispersed, and the new constitution, and the Executive Directory, were established. He was then promoted to the chief command of the army of the interior, and shortly after to that of the army of Italy.

While Napoleon remained unemployed at Paris, his aides-de-camp could not, with propriety, stay with him. Junot alone, as the oldest, remained. Marmont, a captain of artillery, joined his regiment, which was with the

the army of the Rhine: Louis repaired to the school for the artillery at Châlons-sur-Marne, to undergo his examination; but he was so unfortunate as never to be able to finish his studies. After the 5th of October, when his brother was appointed to the command of an army, he was ordered to join his staff at Paris: he refused for some time to quit Châlons, as it was his wish to be received into the artillery; but he was at length obliged to obey, and he returned to Paris in the following month.

During the first campaigns of Louis at Nice, the representatives of the people wished to confer on him the rank of captain; but as he was then scarcely fifteen years of age, the measure was objected to by his brother.

Napoleon used to relate anecdotes of Louis, which, while they served to evince the most ardent attachment to his elder brother, afforded, at the same time, a proof of his courage and coolness.

The first time he was conducted by Napoleon into an engagement, Louis, far from feeling

feeling any astonishment, wished to serve as a rampart to his brother. This was before Saorgio, a village on the great road from Nice to Tenda, exceedingly strong from its situation. The enemy kept up a very brisk fire of mountain artillery; that is to say, of pieces carrying balls of two or three pounds weight. Louis placed himself before his brother, when he proceeded along the outside of the entrenchments for the purpose of examining them. He remained constantly in this position during the whole of this inspection, notwithstanding his brother's prohibition, and the fire of the enemy.

On another occasion, they happened to be at a battery upon which the enemy kept up a brisk fire. The breast-works were what is called *à barbette;* that is, only three or four feet in height. The garrison frequently stooped down to shelter themselves. Napoleon remarked, that Louis imitated the example of his elder brother, remaining immoveable the whole time; and by way of

trial, he asked him the reason: "I have heard you say," answered Louis, "that a French officer of artillery ought never to fear cannon: it is our best weapon."

After the 5th of October, Napoleon, on being appointed to the command of the army of Italy, was preparing to set out for Nice, the head-quarters, when Louis arrived from Châlons. He became acquainted at that time with Madame de Beauharnais, married soon after to his brother, and with her children, Hortensia, then 13 years of age, and Eugene, who was 15.

At the school of Châlons he had imbibed anti-republican principles, from the society of the young artillery pupils. It is well known, that, at that period, all the young men made it their boast, that they were hostile to the republican government.

Certain impressions, which he had received in his infancy, remained indelibly imprinted on his memory. The elegance, the amenity, the fascinating frankness, the polite effusion of

of heart, which were then natural to the greater part of the nation, had filled him with the keenest regret.

To him it appeared, that the nation was no longer the same. He neither shared in the enthusiasm of his comrades, who were overjoyed at the prospect of entering on a campaign, nor assented to the approbation then generally bestowed on the fashions, manners, and customs, which prevailed at Paris.

He set out several days before his brother, travelling with the cavalry guides of the army. Napoleon took his departure in great haste, and joined his brother at Châtillon-sur-Seine, at the house of Marmont's father, an elderly gentleman of great respectability, with whom they had remained several days on their journey to Paris some months before. The first thing which Napoleon did, on seeing again his young brother, was to ask his opinion of Madame de Beauharnais. Louis answered, that she was a charming woman, but that she was no longer young. When told, that she was

now his sister-in-law, he would not at first give credit to the information. He did not hesitate to observe, that the choice appeared to him very unsuitable, on account of the too great disproportion between their ages. Madame de Beauharnais was at that time nearly 37, while her husband was scarcely 28.

Louis was 18, when he a second time joined the army of Italy, then commanded by his brother, to whom he was aide-de-camp. He had only the rank of lieutenant.

He was of an observing and silent character. He felt a vacuity of heart, and experienced a feeling of regret, on seeing himself impelled into a career of troubles and ambition. He sighed already for retirement, and a peaceful occupation.

When he accompanied his brother to Paris the year before, he found in that immense capital the innovations and disorders which always follow political convulsions. He reached the capital a few days after the disturbances of the 23d of May; and the misfortunes, which he witnessed, naturally filled him with apprehension,

apprehension, lest fortune might one day abandon his brother. Every general was at that time exposed to the risk of losing his life, if unsuccessful; neither courage nor talent was in that case of any avail. They had scarcely reached the place destined for their residence near the Place de la Victoire, when Louis threw himself into an easy-chair, and seeming to wake out of an anxious train of thought, he exclaimed, with a profound sigh, and a prophetic tone—*Here we are then, at Paris!* The sententious tone, meditative air, involuntary emotion, and absence of mind, with which these words were uttered, astonished his brother and Junot, who happened to be present. On being asked the cause of the deep sigh and exclamation, he answered, that he was himself ignorant of it.

These traits may serve to give some idea of the contrasts which prevailed in his character. He was grave and romantic, ardent and phlegmatic, at the same time.

From the commencement of the Emperor's campaigns in Italy, in 1796, down to the expedition

pedition to Egypt, the history of Louis contains few transactions of importance. He displayed courage on several occasions, but merely by fits and starts, and the acquisition of a military reputation gave him very little concern. He evinced alike great zeal, activity, and coolness, but not the slightest desire of advancement, or feeling of ambition. He felt, above all, an invincible repugnance to excess. He endeavoured to do whatever could be justly exacted of him; and he discharged his duty without either indulging or sparing himself in any thing, or endeavouring to appear to advantage. He constantly performed the functions of aide-de-camp to his brother. Colonel Lannes and Louis were the first who passed the Po. At the taking of Pizzighittone, he entered the place by the breach, with Dommartin, the general of artillery. After the taking of Milan, the city of Pavia revolted, and imprisoned the French garrison. The insurgents even marched on Milan, sounding the tocsin as they proceeded. The French army advanced

to

to meet them, and reached them at Binasco: this village was set on fire. On arriving before Pavia, the army summoned the city to surrender, with a view to preserve it from the horrors of an assault; but all capitulation was rejected; the bearer of the flag of truce was even wounded, and returned covered with blood. Napoleon gave orders to effect a breach; but the field artillery, though planted near the walls, was insufficient for that purpose. He then ordered a party of grenadiers to repair to the gate with axes, to drive it in: Lannes and Dupas commanded them. They were all on foot: Louis was ordered to accompany them, but on horseback, in order that he might examine the situation of the town, should an entrance be obtained, and return instantly with an account of the result. The grenadiers advanced boldly, without returning the heavy fire to which they were exposed from the ramparts. Louis, being on horseback, and consequently higher than the rest, was the mark they particularly singled out; but he reached the gate, without

out either his horse or himself receiving the slightest wound. The gate was driven in; the insurgents withdrew into the streets, abandoning the ramparts, and the ground in their vicinity. He was exposed to great danger, while pursuing them during a warm and confused discharge of musketry; and he advanced as far as the town-hall, situated in the centre of Pavia, notwithstanding the fire of the insurgents. Fortunately, the army followed them closely, spread itself in every direction, and the garrison, who were prisoners, found also means to set themselves at liberty. The city was soon reduced to subjection; but it could only be partially saved from pillage. At this horrible spectacle he was greatly shocked, and became thenceforward still more cold and taciturn.

He was present at the battle of Valeggio, after which the Mincio was forcibly passed, with the Austrian army in front.

He participated in the investment and the first operations of the siege of Mantua.

A few days afterwards, a new campaign opened.

opened. Wurmser made his appearance before the Adige, and in front of the left of the French army, on the mountains of the Lake of Garda, and of Peschiera. These, however, were merely stratagems. It was immediately ascertained, that he had penetrated by the Tyrol to the rear of the French army; that he had surprised Brescia, and made the garrison prisoners, as well as a squadron of the 5th dragoons, with Generals Lannes, Murat, and Lanusse. After taking Brescia, Wurmser marched on Mantua, with the intention no doubt of effecting the raising of the siege, commenced by the division of Serrurier, and covered by the division of Augereau, both of them too weak to resist the victorious army of Wurmser and the numerous garrison of Mantua.

Napoleon was then at Verona, on the Adige. The left of the army, commanded by Massena and Joubert, was beaten on the heights of Rivoli and Coronna; and the two generals continued their retreat to the walls of Peschiera.

Napoleon,

Napoleon, pressed in all directions, saw his communications with France cut off, and found himself placed between two armies, each of them more numerous than his own, which was then reduced to 25,000 efficient men. He had experienced reverses and great losses on his left; and whilst the enemy was harassing him in front and rear, and increasing in numbers, the French army was diminishing, being cut off from all reinforcements and supplies. Brescia, his principal magazine, was taken. Milan, fifteen leagues in the rear of the enemy, was of no manner of use to him. The division of Serrurier, engaged in the siege of Mantua, and that of Augereau, at hand to support it, were threatened by the army of Wurmser and that which was shut up in Mantua. In this situation of affairs, no one entertained the least hope. "*Soldiers of the valiant army of Italy,*" one man would say to another, "*we have made a glorious campaign, but it will be as unsubstantial as a dream! Who can extricate us from so critical and desperate a position! The Frenchmen of the*

the army of Italy, however, will not witness the utmost extremity of misfortune; they will quit their arms only with their latest breath, and thus they will at least preserve their past glory." Such was the spirit of these courageous soldiers, always intrepid, but too enlightened not to see the imminent danger of their position.

What was their astonishment, when they first assembled in presence of their chief, to observe no alteration in his countenance, and that he still possessed the same ardour, the same serenity, and the same confidence! "On what does he found his hopes?" said the soldiers. "Unless our general be more than man, how can he possibly save us?"

"Fear nothing," said Napoleon to them; "show that you remain unchanged: preserve your valour, your just pride, and the remembrance of your triumphs, and in three days we will retake all that we have lost. Rely only on me. You know whether or not I am in the habit of keeping my word."

The enthusiasm of the army was equal to its

its surprise, when the soldiers heard from him, to whom they had already given the name of Invincible, the assurance, that a hope still remained, and that they were not entirely lost.

Napoleon availed himself, without an instant's delay, of the enthusiasm of his troops. He conceived one of those plans, which ought for ever to be viewed as a model, and which alone would be sufficient to secure him the rank of a great captain. He abandoned the line of the Adige, gave orders to the division of Augereau, employed in covering the siege of Mantua, to march on Brescia; and told his soldiers, that, if they wished to obtain the victory, *it was with their legs alone that it could now be gained.* The speed with which they advanced was astonishing. Wurmser had hardly reached Mantua, when the whole French army, which the evening before was divided, turned, and in imminent danger, formed a junction at Brescia, which was retaken. It had abandoned the Adige and the Mincio, but it was formed in a natural order, having

having its rear secure, its communications re-established, its two wings connected, with the exception of the division of Serrurier, respecting which Napoleon was in no uneasiness, and the enemy was in front. Napoleon gave a little repose to his troops, strengthened himself as much as possible, opened a communication with Serrurier, and prescribed the movements which he should adopt. He ordered Louis, to take possession of the bridge of St. Mark with two battalions; and, on his return, he despatched him in the greatest haste to Paris with an account of what had taken place. "*Every thing is now made good,*" said he. "*To-morrow I shall give battle: the success will be most complete, as the most difficult part of the task is over. The most perfect reliance on the event may now be entertained. I have no time to write long despatches. Describe all that you have seen.*"

Louis set out from Brescia the evening before the battle. A few hours after his arrival

arrival at Paris, a courier brought him the details of the great victory gained by his brother at Castiglione. He repaired to the Directory, who conferred on him the rank of captain, as a mark of their satisfaction. Dutaillis, an aide-de-camp, arrived a few days afterwards; and, by orders of the general-in-chief, they were jointly instructed to present the colours taken in the battle of Castiglione, which they did in a solemn audience, when they each received a brace of pistols.

The details of this celebrated victory are well known. The divisions of Augereau and Serrurier executed in so able a manner the instructions received by them, that, falling suddenly and unexpectedly on the rear of the army of Wurmser, they had the greatest share in the defeat of the enemy. On this memorable day Napoleon raised himself to an equality with the greatest captains. Although the position in which he was placed was critical in an eminent degree, he contrived to turn all the successes gained by Wurmser

Wurmser to the advantage of the French army, and that by the mere strength of his genius alone.

Louis left his brother with regret on the eve of the battle, to become the bearer of bad news. "It must be so," said Napoleon to him: "I can only entrust my brother with this disagreeable commission; but before you return, you will have to present the colours, which we shall take to-morrow."

Austria, whom no reverses could discourage, immediately formed a third army, which was entrusted to the command of the Baron d'Alvinzi, a very old, but a very brave general. Louis was present at the battles of Brenta, Caldiero, Rivoli, and the memorable one of Arcole.

This last battle lasted three days. Napoleon had conceived the bold project of passing the Adige several leagues below Verona, with the view of suddenly attacking the rear of the Austrian army. But the weather was wretched, the soldiers were worn out, and could with difficulty march along a sticky and wet

wet ground; and then, instead of establishing the bridge of boats beyond Ronco, it was established in the middle of the village, with a canal which enters the Adige on the farther side of it. Every thing depended on celerity, as a grand surprise was projected; so that, when the mistake was discovered, there was no time to change the bridge. At the first break of day the Adige was crossed, and the army advanced along the causeway which leads to the village of Arcole, and then to Villa Nuova, where the centre and the park of artillery of the Austrian army were posted. Napoleon wished, to fall upon the enemy unawares at that point with the least possible delay. The enemy had only some skirmishing corps to oppose in that quarter, which were not in a condition to resist him for any length of time. But it was necessary, to drive these in, and to follow them up with the utmost rapidity, to prevent their disclosing the plan of attack, and thus avoid allowing time to the enemy to change his line and advance in a mass against the French army in its route.

This,

This, however, was what actually took place. After passing the Adige at Ronco, the advance followed the causeway of Villanuova, which terminates at Arcole, passing along the brink of the canal of which mention has been made. The skirmishing corps of the enemy were distributed behind this canal. They made a discharge before retreating, and then extended themselves in such a manner as to flank the French on their march; and keep up a very brisk fire on them, from a distance little more than musket length, all the way to Arcole, where they posted themselves in houses, situated very favourably for them on the two sides, and in front of the bridge over which it was necessary to pass. This defective position astonished the French, who had not expected it, and they accordingly halted. The skirmishers received reinforcements in the meantime, and the alarm was given to the general of the enemy at Villanuova, who immediately advanced with all his fresh troops, so that affairs began to wear a new aspect. The French army was obliged to fight in a

narrow and dangerous ground, and in the most unfavourable position.

Napoleon immediately determined on putting himself at the head of the columns, and to make every possible exertion to carry the bridge, and thus gain an advantage in point of speed over the army of the enemy, which was already moving on Arcole; but all his attempts were fruitless. In vain, with a standard in his hands, and surrounded by all the generals and officers of his staff, did he put himself at the head of his grenadiers, and expose himself to a close and most destructive fire. The troops remained motionless, whilst the group, which surrounded their general-in-chief, were rapidly diminishing in number. General Lasnes, who had already been twice wounded in the course of this day, fell by the side of Louis; general Vignolles was wounded in the arm. The grenadiers immediately fell back in disorder, carrying along with them the group which surrounded the general. The ground which they occupied was merely a causeway, with a canal on the right, and a marsh

a marsh on the left; and when we consider, that artillery, infantry, and cavalry, were in column on this narrow space, we may conceive the effect produced by the musketry and cannon of the enemy.

Forced to retreat, Napoleon withdrew so slowly, that he remained the last on the ground. Junot, Marmont, and Louis, his aides-de-camp, contrived that he should precede them. But, pushed off the causeway by the crowd, their only way was a marshy soil, which they traversed with great difficulty, when a horse, which had been brought a few minutes before to the general-in-chief, sunk with him in the marsh. Louis succeeded in getting hold of one of his brother's hands; but, not being sufficiently strong, he was drawn along with him: Marmont however joined him, and two subaltern officers happening to come to their aid, they at length succeeded in extricating Napoleon from his perilous situation.

Louis, powerfully affected by the danger in which his brother and his general was placed, climbed the causeway, harangued the grena-

diers, put himself at their head, and made a fresh, but an unsuccessful attempt, to carry the bridge. A position was taken on the Adige, and night came on. Seeing the failure of his first project, Napoleon ordered the division of Guieu to repass the Adige, which it did, and then descended this river to a point somewhat lower down than Ronco, and as far as the village of Albaredo. From thence this division proceeded to Arcole without any obstacle. There was no canal there, as at Ronco, with intrenched banks, lined with tirailleurs, who could flank the troops on their march, and, with perfect safety to themselves, keep up an incessant fire on them. The village of Arcole having thus been turned by Albaredo, it was taken possession of, but the force employed having neglected to penetrate to the small bridge, where Napoleon had met with a repulse, when night came the village was evacuated.

On learning this error, and deeming his army too much engaged, to admit of its re-crossing the Adige, and also taking the Alba-

redo

redo road, Napoleon wished to obtain the same result by other means, and to turn Arcole, by forcibly passing the canal near its influx into the Adige. He ordered fascines to be thrown into it; the whole of the cavalry alighted for that purpose, and even the guides and staff-officers assisted, but all in vain; for the fascines, being too light, were carried down by the current; and the enemy, who were entrenched to the very teeth, were enabled to take a sure aim, almost within musket length of the French. Napoleon then ordered the village of Arcole to be again turned by Albaredo, and in the meantime he laid a snare for the enemy, who were now become bold and confident. He ordered Massena to place the 32d half brigade in ambuscade, and at the same time gave directions to general Robert, who was posted on the causeway near the bridge, to abandon it to the enemy. Then, availing himself of the situation of the ground, he detached twenty-five of his cavalry-guides, who volunteered on the occasion, under the command of a negro officer of the name of Hercules, whom he placed

placed in ambush in the most favourable manner. These twenty-five men, who were supplied with a great number of trumpeters, being abandoned in the rear of the enemy, could not fail, either to be completely sacrificed, or to produce an admirable effect, in a position, in which it was impossible to ascertain their number, and where there was no outlet to the enemy, but by the Adige or the marshes. The stratagem was attended with the most complete success. The twenty-five guides behaved in the most valiant manner; and the enemy's column, having no other passage between the Adige and the marshes than the line of the army, threw itself under the fire of the 32d, fell into one snare after another, and was either destroyed or taken prisoners. On another side, the second attack on Albaredo was now attended with the most perfect success. The enemy evacuated Arcole, and the French arrived at Villanuova on the 3d day of the engagement, not with the view of surprising the enemy, for that was no longer practicable after the first day, but to pursue him,

him, and secure the victory to an army, which, in the most unfavourable position, deceived in its projects, having in front a fresh army of triple its own numbers, succeeded in completely beating and dispersing that army, after great losses, and pursued it even into the positions, which it had occupied at the commencement of the campaign.

It is of importance to remark, that all the principal actions of Napoleon are stamped with the character of genius, and that even those, in which he had the greatest difficulties to combat, and which commenced with reverses, only served to set off his genius to greater advantage. This battle lasted three days. In the second day, Louis was charged with important orders from the general-in-chief to general Robert. There was no other road, than the causeway of which so much has been said, and which was so briskly swept by the fire of the enemy. Louis traversed it on horseback with the greatest rapidity. On arriving near the bridge, he found general Robert in a state of the greatest agitation and alarm,

alarm, with his face and eyes inflamed, in the midst of the French tirailleurs and those of the enemy, and running from treë to tree, to prevent his drooping soldiers from wheeling about. Louis had been exposed for a long time to a very sharp fire, while endeavouring to reach general Robert; and when beside him, he was marked out by the tirailleurs of the enemy, being the only person on horseback. He explained to him the orders of the general-in-chief; but general Robert was so much agitated, that he listened without comprehending the purport of what he was told: he had, without doubt, already a presentiment of his death; and he was mortally wounded an hour afterwards. Louis repeated the orders several times, without being able to make himself understood. At length he assumed a smiling and tranquil air, made a profound bow to general Robert, and remained with his hat off, till the general returned his salute, and consequently regained his consciousness, which he soon did. Returning to the general-in-chief, who was then employed near the influx

flux of the canal of the Adige, in endeavouring to fill it up, he was exposed again to the same fire. The grenadiers, who were in position in the marsh behind the causeway, seeing an aid-de-camp traversing it a second time, exclaimed; *Let us get up also:* but scarcely had the two foremost succeeded in raising the half of their bodies above the brink of the causeway, when they fell back dead. A drummer wished likewise to make the attempt, but he fell at the feet of Louis, pierced by several balls. The manner in which some persons escape the greatest dangers is truly astonishing! Neither Napoleon, nor Berthier, nor Massena, were ever wounded, whereas Lannes was never engaged in any affair, in which he did not receive a wound. On regaining his brother, Napoleon expressed a feeling of surprise and joy; "I believed you dead," said he: and his death had been actually announced to him by some of the grenadiers.

On the eve of the battle of Rivoli, which preceded that of the Favourite *, Napo-

* See page 80.

leon

leon was at Verona. His right, under the command of Augereau, was on the lower Adige, in the direction of Porto Legnago, in order to cover the siege of Mantua, and prevent the enemy from approaching, by passing that river. The enemy was also before Verona, on the road to Vicenza, and was, besides, on the left, in the mountains of Rivoli, where the division of Joubert had been beaten. Joubert transmitted information, that he could hold out no longer, that the enemy, greatly superior to himself, was making dispositions for surrounding him, and that it was his intention, to take advantage of the night, to retreat under the walls of Peschiera. The enemy began at the same time to move on Verona, and on the right at Legnago. The French army, far too weak to be able to make head in all directions, was obliged to conjecture the designs of the enemy, to collect all its strength on the point, on which he intended to move; but then, in case of an erroneous conjecture, with what fatal consequences might this step be attended!...Napoleon

poleon examined with the utmost attention the maps and descriptions of the places, the reports of his generals, and those of his spies and light troops, and passed a part of the night in a state of uncertainty and indecision. At length, on receiving fresh reports, he exclaimed, *It is clear—it is clear: to Rivoli.* He left a garrison at Verona, and with general Massena, and all the disposable troops, he repaired to general Joubert, to give him an answer. He ordered generals Rey and Baraguey d'Hilliers to follow along the heights of St. Mark, but not till after a few hours. He despatched orders to the right, to Augereau, who was to remain to cover the siege of Mantua, to Serrurier before that place, &c. but it was all *viva voce*, by aides-de-camp, that no time might be lost. Louis was despatched to Peschiera, with orders to join him afterwards at Rivoli; he quitted Verona in the night, at the time the staff and the division of Massena repaired to Joubert. Having executed his commission, he rejoined the army at break of day, when he met some fugitives,

fugitives, some baggage, which had been plundered by the enemy, and about ten pieces of light artillery, which were retreating with the utmost speed. He stopped them, and, inquiring the cause of all this, was told, that the army had passed before daybreak, but that the enemy had afterwards formed behind it and turned it, and that by obeying the orders of the general-in-chief, they would merely be giving themselves up to the enemy, as our army were already taken prisoners. Louis endeavoured, with the assistance of the officers whom he rallied, to collect as many troops as possible. All the fugitives were got together; a squadron of the 15th dragoons, which happened by chance to be behind, augmented his little troop; he drew it up in line, ordered the artillery to be placed in a battery, and thus awed the enemy, who durst not advance further in the rear of the French army. Persuaded, at the same time, as he had witnessed the spontaneous decision of Napoleon, and the orders which had been issued, that all the troops could not have reached

reached Rivoli, he gave orders to reconnoitre, and discovered to the left the divisions of Rey and Baraguey d'Hilliers. He joined them, and desired the former to attack the enemy, "who imagines," he added, "that he has only surrounded the division of Joubert, whereas he will immediately have the whole army on his hands; I am sure, that the general-in-chief is merely waiting the first discharge of musketry here, to begin his attack; he left you behind with no other view; he was aware yesterday, that the enemy was endeavouring to surround our troops."

His arguments were unavailing, and he only succeeded in obtaining a battalion, which he demanded by way of reinforcement. Returning to his small troop, he ordered the artillery, after a few discharges, by way of giving information to the main body of the army at Rivoli, to be conveyed to the rear, to guard against the danger of its being lost. He posted his infantry as tirailleurs along a chain of hills on the right of the road, and ordered all those who were mounted, to

join

join the squadron of the 15th dragoons, and form in column on the road. After the commencement of firing, they charged the enemy, and, as he had predicted to general Rey, no sooner did the army, which was surrounded, hear the reports, than it attacked the enemy in all directions. Seeing troops on every side, the enemy, who thought he was himself surrounded, fled in disorder, and his lines, which covered all the heights, being cut in many places, were deserted in an instant. The main body of the French cavalry charged from Rivoli, to break the line of that part of the enemy's force which had turned the army, when Louis attempted the same thing in an opposite direction with his detachment, so that they met face to face. Their detachments rejoined their respective corps, and Louis returned to his brother, who expressed great satisfaction with his conduct, and particularly with his having conjectured the true situation of affairs.

This victory was complete. At the close of the day and during the night, columns of the enemy, which had been cut off, or had lost their

their way, were perpetually coming in. The number of prisoners amounted to more than fifteen thousand. Alvinzi was on the point of being one of the number.

All uneasiness as to this difficulty being now at an end, and the alarms of Joubert being dispelled, Napoleon flew towards Mantua with the division of Massena, and all the troops which Joubert deemed no longer necessary for the maintenance of his positions. No time was to be lost, for the enemy had already passed the Adige in the environs of Porto Legnago, before general Augereau. The Austrian advance guard, commanded by major-general the Prince of Hohenzollern, fruitlessly summoned the suburb of Saint George, which supported the line of the French besieging army; the tranquil and intrepid Miollis commanded this suburb, which was carefully entrenched. Wurmser sallied out of the place, to join his countrymen; but before this could be effected Napoleon arrived, threw himself between them, and beat them completely, one after the other.

Wurmser

Wurmser re-entered Mantua, but the division of Provera, with the general of that name, and the Prince of Hohenzollern, were made prisoners of war. This engagement was called the Battle of the Favourite, from the name of a country house near which it was fought.

It was soon followed by the surrender of Mantua, with its garrison of 18,000 men. Napoleon treated general Wurmser with the greatest generosity. He did not wish to be a spectator of his misfortune, and granted him every thing which could contribute to his satisfaction.

About this time the Ecclesiastical Territories were invaded. An affair took place between Bologna and Forli, but scarcely any opposition was afterwards made. The conduct of Napoleon, with regard to the Holy See, is well known; he showed, that it was with regret he undertook this expedition; every day he renewed his propositions for peace, which were at length listened to, when the French army was within a short distance of Rome.

Louis

Louis accompanied his brother in this short campaign, but he did not see the conclusion of it. He fell sick at Forli, and was obliged to return to Bologna, and afterwards to repair to Milan.

He was unable from this cause to take a part in the last campaign with his brother, before the peace of Campo Formio. He did not join him till after the signing of the preliminaries of peace.

During the negotiations a very important commission was entrusted to him. He was appointed to reconnoitre on the advanced posts of the enemy. This lasted eight days, and his conduct received the highest praise from his brother. In this inspection he first saw the young Bertrand, who belonged to the engineers, at Osappo; he appreciated his merit, and recommended him to his brother. This is the person who afterwards was aide-de-camp of the Emperor, grand marshal, and commander-in-chief of engineers in the grand army.

When the difficulties which occurred during

the negotiation were removed, and the parties agreed as to the terms, Louis was despatched to Paris, to carry the first news of peace to the directory. Napoleon himself returned a few weeks afterwards, and was received in a public and solemn audience, as in triumph, in the grand court of the Luxembourg, for which purpose the most magnificent preparations had been made.

Louis possessed a strong constitution, but he had not taken sufficient care of himself in his campaigns. He was left to himself at too early an age, without sufficient preparation. He had received several very severe falls from his horse, the worst of which nearly cost him his left eye, on which a deep scar afterwards remained. He met with this accident at Nice, after the siege of Toulon. While returning from a mission at full gallop, on a young and fiery horse of the full Spanish breed, he was met by the aide-de-camp Junot on foot, who frightened the horse to try the skill of the rider, which the horse mastered: Louis fell, and the wound he received was so

ill

ill attended to, that he has always preserved the scar. After the peace of Campo Formio, when the Egyptian expedition was in contemplation, Louis wished to serve in it, but at the same time to set out later than the rest, in order to try the waters of Barrege, which had been recommended to him. When he last returned with the news of peace, his horses became restive in descending the high mountain of St. André, in Savoy, when he dislocated his knee. His brother himself decided, that he should take his departure, to join the army of Egypt, with the first vessel which sailed after the close of the bathing season.

Louis, for a secret reason, was desirous of remaining at Paris. His sister Caroline was at the celebrated boarding-school of Madame Campan, at St. Germain. Thither he frequently repaired, where he used to meet a female friend of his sister, whose father had emigrated in the commencement of the revolution. He felt a warm interest in her behalf, esteemed the qualities both of her heart

and mind, and thought her altogether the most beautiful person he had ever seen.

Walking one evening in the garden of the Tuileries with Casabianca, a reduced naval officer of rank, and the friend of his brother, an honourable, amiable, and intelligent man, but timid and apprehensive at the same time, and who in the first storms of the revolution had saved himself by his excessive prudence, he could not contain his sentiments, and he confided them to this gentleman. Casabianca was alarmed. "Do you know," said he, "*that this marriage would be attended with the most injurious consequences to your brother, and would render him suspected to the government? and that too at a moment, when he is setting out on a hazardous expedition, and when it is of the utmost consequence to him, to make as many friends as possible, or at least not to make any enemies, or to become suspected.*"

Next day Napoleon sent for his brother, and ordered him to set out instantly with three of his other aides-de-camp for Toulon, where

where they were to wait his arrival, and from whence they were to accompany him to Egypt. Louis discovered, a long time after, that Casabianca instantly informed Napoleon of the sentiments and intentions of his brother, and, instead of losing time in attempts to persuade an amorous young man, Napoleon procured from the minister of war an order for his immediate departure.

At this time Bernadotte was ambassador from France at Vienna. In that capital he committed one of those acts of imprudence, natural to a haughty and unbending character like his, which excited the whole population against him. Instead of the arms of France, he hoisted at his residence the tricoloured flag, which gave rise to a very warm scene. The French Directory were afraid, that it might lead to a renewal of the war, and suspended the departure of Napoleon for Egypt. In consequence of this, Louis and the three other aides-de-camp, who had reached Lyons on their way, received orders to remain there;

and

and he staid eight days in Lyons. This was in the beginning of spring, which is always delicious in that climate. The two large rivers, which water this beautiful city, give the utmost freshness and beauty to the vegetation. Lyons is surrounded by hills, which are covered with country houses and the most beautiful trees. Nothing can equal the attraction of these enchanting abodes in spring, except perhaps the amiable gaiety of the inhabitants, the grace, the figure, the eyes, the walk, and the *morbidezza* of the ladies of Lyons, who resemble those of Paris, though with fewer pretensions perhaps. They have, in their manner of speaking, as well as in their carriage, figure, and walk, a graceful flexibility, a charm, which no other females possess.

This city was not calculated to diminish the regrets and emotions of a young man, who saw himself involuntarily torn, for ever perhaps, from all that he loved. A fortnight after, the good understanding between France and Austria having been restored,

Napoleon

Napoleon quitted Paris. His aides-de-camp joined him on his way at Lyons; in a few days they reached Toulon, where the army embarked, and the vessels set sail. The fleet was composed of thirteen ships of the line, and transports laden with troops and stores, amounting to between five and six hundred vessels of all descriptions, in four divisions. That of Toulon had for convoy four Venetian vessels of war, two of them ships of the line, and two old frigates, all the four armed *en flute*. The ships of the line, which had been captured by the army of Italy, bore the names of two generals of that army, who fell on the field of battle, Lecausse and Le Dubois, the former killed at the battle of Dego, the latter at Roveredo. Muiron, aide-de-camp of Napoleon, killed at Arcole, and Carrère, colonel of artillery, who was carried off a few moments before the armistice of Leoben, by the last cannon shot which was fired in that war, gave their names to the two frigates. But these Venetian vessels, which were not sheathed with copper, and were ill constructed

constructed besides, seemed to move with great difficulty. A division of the transports assembled at Ajaccio, and joined the squadron on its leaving the roads of Toulon; the third division, which came from Genoa, was later in joining the fleet; and the fourth, under the command of general Desaix, sailed from Civita Vecchia and joined the fleet before Malta. There were besides a light squadron of frigates, corvettes, and avisos. The frigates were named La Diane, La Justice, La Serieuse, L'Alceste, &c.

An English fleet entered the Mediterranean, as the expedition sailed: of this certain intelligence was received. Napoleon must therefore have placed great dependence on his good fortune, to venture on conducting to Egypt, where he could not disembark without difficulty, so numerous an army, in the view as it were of an enemy's fleet. But he did not merely attempt this; it was also his intention, to take possession of the impregnable island of Malta by the way, with the view of facilitating communication with Europe,

and

and securing to France the empire of the Mediterranean, and the commerce of the Levant.

But if he seemed to calculate wholly on his good fortune, in his bold and often hazardous actions, no person appeared to leave less to accident, in the conception of his plans. No human precaution, which it was possible to adopt, was ever, I believe, neglected or forgotten by Napoleon at that time. He always considered things under every imaginable aspect, and though he never, or scarcely ever, experienced reverses, he was in every enterprise prepared beforehand for whatever misfortune might happen. He had always made up his mind, as to the part which it might be necessary for him to adopt, let the result be what it would. This was what he called conceiving a plan. In his actions he was always very much guided by policy, secret intelligence, and the particular interests of individuals. It cannot be denied, that he seemed to entertain a thorough conviction, that self-interest is the first and greatest, and

perhaps

perhaps the only spring, which moves the heart of man.

On the way to Malta the fleet remained some days before Sardinia, waiting for transports, and during this time Nelson, with fourteen ships of the line, all excellent sailers, was in pursuit of the French fleet. The frigates, employed by the French fleet for purposes of intelligence, discovered and announced the enemy, on the arrival of Napoleon at Malta; but Nelson took a wrong direction, passed the Straits of Messina, a bold operation for a fleet, and repaired in all diligence to Alexandria. The idea, that an expedition, destined to take possession of Egypt, would amuse itself by the way in attacking such a place as Malta, could not possibly enter his head. No one who knew any thing of the inferiority of the French fleet, its almost complete unfitness for fighting, encumbered as the vessels were with men, guns, and stores of every description, would ever have dreamt of such a project.

But Napoleon knew, that the idea of this attack

attack would never occur to any one, and that the surprise would therefore be complete; that the place was not in a state of defence, and merely secure from a *coup de main;* that the grand master, a brave and worthy man, was unable to supply every deficiency in the moment of danger with the necessary activity; and in short, that its principal defence consisted in the French knights, whom he calculated on gaining over to the side of France. He attempted the enterprise with great appearance of success, and with temerity, but a temerity which was indispensably connected with the project, and he succeeded. He even entered the port during the conferences along with his staff, and daringly urged the conclusion of the capitulation.

The grand master received a pension; the French knights, who wished to enter the French army, were received in it; the rest were guarantied against the persecutions to which emigrants were then subjected.

General Vaubois was left with a garrison in

in Malta: the expedition then sailed, and arrived at Alexandria in ten or twelve days. The coast of Egypt is so low, that it can with difficulty be discovered at the distance of a few leagues. The French consul was sent for; to the great astonishment of his countrymen, he informed them, that the English fleet made its appearance the preceding day before the port, demanded information with respect to the French fleet, and then continued its course towards Alexandretta. At that very moment the signal for vessels of war was made, and the order of battle was given; a firm belief was entertained, that the English fleet was at hand. Napoleon gave expression to the uneasiness which he felt. *Fortune*, he exclaimed, *why hast thou favoured us so long, to abandon us now, when former success only adds to the poignancy of our misfortune? in a few moments Alexandria would have been ours, and the whole of the transports would have been safe!* The signals were false; the vessels that were seen turned out to be French frigates, which had fallen behind, and not the English fleet.

Napoleon

Napoleon wished the troops to be landed immediately, but admiral Bruyès would not consent, being afraid of the sea, then agitated by a strong west wind, which is almost permanent at this season; but the general felt the value of the moments which passed. He saw the expedition exposed on the coast, and Alexandria in arms, preparing for a defence; and he wished positively to land, in spite of the violence of the waves.

The fleet anchored, and during the evening and part of the night the disembarkation took place a few leagues from Alexandria, near a place called the tower of Marabout, or the tower of the Arabs. Next day the French army marched in line against the town, the right commanded by general Bon, the centre by Kleber, and the left by general Menou. Two or three of the boats were overset in landing, by which all the people in them were drowned, and two or three men were killed by the Arabs; among the latter was Moreau, of the grenadiers, captain in the 69th regiment of infantry of the line, who, while posting

posting sentinels in such a manner, as to enable them to watch several Arabs on horseback, who were galloping up and down the plain, was overtaken and struck, in the space between the sentinel and the bivouac of the post, with an astonishing rapidity. During the disembarkation Louis quitted the Orient, the vessel which contained his brother, with general Lannes, and his staff, and went on board the Franklin, general Kleber's ship. He landed with the latter, and remained attached to his division in the attack of Alexandria. Kleber received a wound, and was appointed to the command of Alexandria. Louis received orders to remain at Alexandria, but after the battle of Aboukir, in which the French fleet was destroyed, he was summoned to Cairo.

When Napoleon wished to execute the disembarkation without loss of time, he said to admiral Bruyès, the moment he quitted the Orient, "We must exert ourselves, to open the port of Alexandria for you with the least possible delay; and if it be not in a condition to

to receive the fleet, we must place you in safety elsewhere. You have conducted us successfully, your task is over, and ours only commences." "*Do you take us for baggage-carts?*" replied the brave Bruyès.

However, as soon as the town was taken, the admiral received orders to sound the old port of Alexandria, and to enter it with the whole of the fleet. The operation of sounding then commenced, and captain Barré of the Alceste, an active and intelligent officer, was entrusted with it; but whether the sailors were unwilling to be shut up in Alexandria, or whether some unfortunate fatality attended all the naval operations, this important business, in which despatch was of so much consequence, was only completed a few days before the appearance of the English, and the battle between the two fleets. The result of the sounding was, that all the vessels could enter the port as they were, with the exception of the Orient, which it would be necessary to lighten, by unloading a few pieces of artillery in the passage.

Till

Till the completion of the soundings, the fleet took position in sight of Alexandria, on that part of the coast called the Bay of Aboukir, but which was an open shore rather than a bay. The miserable village of that name is built nearly on the ruins of the ancient *Canopus*. The coast at this place forms an arch of a circle; the fleet was stationed in such a manner, as to form the chord of the arch, the left extremity of which terminated within a short distance of a small island, in front of the point of the coast, on which stands the ruin, honoured with the name of the fort of Aboukir: this point formed the support of the left of the French fleet. The right, which did not altogether reach the land, seemed to be, at first sight, totally without support; but, instead of this, as the line was oblique, the right was most secure, being close upon shallows and sunken rocks.

Admiral Bruyès was convinced, that a fleet when moored cannot be attacked. This is only true, when a fleet cannot be turned; but in the position, which the French fleet occupied,

cupied, it received a sad proof of the unfounded nature of the admiral's opinion.

The French admiral, in his confidence, forgot, that Nelson was in pursuit of him, and he lost several precious days, during which he might have entered the port of Alexandria. In his indecision, he did not even adopt all the measures, which he ought to have taken for his defence. His principal officers, and among them Casabianca and Dupetit-Thouars, urged him to place the left of his line under the protection of the small island of Aboukir; but he refused to do so, merely because it was necessary. "Would you have us," said he, "in this open anchorage, driven by the first gale on the coast, and, after losing one or more vessels, be reproached with professional ignorance?"

He therefore stationed his left at some distance from this small island, and placed the Serieuse, a large frigate, in the middle of the interval between the line of battle ships and the island. The army wished to erect good batteries on the small island, in order to pro-

tect the left of the fleet; but the admiral chose, that the island should remain under the direction of his officers alone; and the consequence was, that it was placed in a very imperfect state of defence, and that the batteries were very ill served. Bruyès was absolutely determined, that the fleet should protect the army, instead of the army protecting the fleet.

The French squadron consisted of thirteen ships of the line and several frigates. The remainder were armed *en flute*, and destined for the service of the transports, and were at that time in the port of Alexandria. Of these thirteen vessels, the Orient, which was the admiral's, carried 120 guns; the William Tell and the Franklin 80 guns; and the rest 74.

The Orient was in the centre, vice-admiral Villeneuve commanded the right, vice-admiral Duchelat the left, rear-admiral Gantheaume was the chief of the general staff, and captain Casabianca commanded the flag ship.

The

The Guerrier, the oldest and weakest vessel, was the first on the left. The two vessels on the right were the William Tell and the Genereux, the former of 80 and the latter of 74 guns. The Diana and Justice frigates were stationed in the rear of the right, and the Serieuse and the . . . . . in the rear of the left.

On the morning of the day of battle, general Kleber and Louis were walking on the terrace of the house occupied as head-quarters, when they suddenly perceived several sail of the enemy, and presently the whole of the English fleet of 14 vessels; one of which only, the Leander, carried no more than 50 guns.

Nelson approached very close to Alexandria. He was a long time occupied in viewing the port, after which he sailed towards Aboukir with a favourable wind, and delightful weather, and his vessels followed him in the most perfect order.

As soon as he perceived the French fleet, he was seen to make signals, when the light

vessels joined him, and the ships of war drew up in a still closer order.

The chagrin felt by the English admiral, on seeing, that he had not been able to prevent so considerable an expedition from reaching its destination, and from carrying a post like Malta almost before his face, may well be imagined. We may easily, therefore, conceive the excess of his joy, in finding the enemy's fleet in so disadvantageous a position, and obtaining so favourable an opportunity for completely effacing the memory of his own mistake.

It has, indeed, been maintained, that the English admiral received instructions, to allow the best army and the best generals of France to proceed without interruption to so distant a destination. But this supposition is too absurd to be entitled to credit. Had he been informed of the course, which the French expedition was to follow, would he have allowed it to surprise Malta? What general, having it in his power to destroy the force of his enemy without striking a blow, would allow

allow such an opportunity to escape? Now, this is precisely what Nelson might have done, had he fallen in with the numerous French transports laden with chosen troops. So far from having received instructions, to allow the expedition to reach Egypt, it is certain, that the chagrin, at missing so favourable an opportunity for destroying the flower of the French army, added to the courage of the English, and that they hailed with joy the means, now placed within their reach, of making ample reparation for their fault.

After observing the French fleet for some time, after having thoroughly reconnoitred its position, and *paraded*, as if to see what course it was disposed to follow, the English at length began their attack.

After the signal of their approach had been made, the French captains repaired on board the admiral-ship to dine with him. They had begun at nine o'clock to paint with oil colours the cabins and stern galleries of the Orient; and the pails and other utensils were still upon deck. The batteries of the small island

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to the left of the line were not yet in a perfect state; and the fleet had no support by land. It had not even been reinforced by all the sailors, of whom a great number were in Alexandria, unemployed, as every thing on board the transports had been landed. General Kleber endeavoured to remedy this signal piece of negligence, by sending, of his own accord, all the sailors to the fleet whom he could possibly collect.

On examining the French squadron, Nelson immediately saw, that no dispositions were making to change its position. Bruyès was very much afraid of putting the fleet under sail; and indeed the whole army had witnessed the enormous difference in the rate at which the different vessels proceeded. The Orient, in full sail, made such slow progress, that, to avoid running foul of it, the Franklin, which immediately followed, was obliged to carry very little sail. The Mercure and another vessel had obtained permission to leave the line, because they impeded the rest. Nelson could not fail to remark, from the position

position of the French fleet, that its left was sufficiently distant from land to admit of being turned. He knew, that the English ships drew less water than the French, and he no doubt concluded, that as there was sufficient water for a large frigate like the Serieuse, half-way between the French fleet and the land, there was also sufficient depth for an English ship of the line, between the frigate in question and the first French ship on the left. He therefore placed the Leander, of 50 guns, in front, as a guide to the other vessels when he began the attack, and this plan, as will be seen, was attended with complete success.

The Leander took at first a wrong course, and touched ground, but the battery on the island, served by sailors, and which had been too late in firing, began, unfortunately, to fire at this period. The Leander, in consequence, stood more out from the land, and by so doing found the passage.

When the passage was found, the English fleet turned the French. The Serieuse was immediately

immediately sunk, and the Guerrier could not long sustain the fire of the enemy.

Nelson, though under sail, allowed the vessels to drag their anchors, that he might be better able to direct their movements. Part of the English fleet having succeeded in getting to the rear of the French, each of the vessels was attacked by at least three of those of the enemy. The French made a brave defence; they felt the fault of their admiral, and their danger, and that added to their valour. The land forces, that served on board the vessels as marines, nobly supported the reputation of the army of Italy. Even when the vessels were sinking, or when they were abandoned by the rest of the crew, these intrepid soldiers kept up the fire with unabated ardour.

In this situation of affairs, it may easily be conceived, that Nelson found little difficulty in taking and destroying the six ships to the left of the Orient. He took vice-admiral Duchelat prisoner, whose nose was carried off in the battle.

The

The enemy stopped short on reaching the Orient. Two of the three vessels which attacked it were disabled and withdrew, and the third struck its flag. The brave Bruyès fired along with the soldiers who acted as mariners: having received a wound, he had it dressed on deck, and recommenced fighting, when he was immediately taken off by a ball. His flag-captain, mortally wounded, was carried into the gun-room. At that time the Orient unfortunately caught fire, which made such rapid progress, that the six other vessels were obliged to keep at a distance from it. The captains of the different vessels waited with impatience for signals from the admiral; but he was dead, and this was only known to the crew of his own vessel. No communication was made to the officer, who from his rank ought to have succeeded him, that he was now called on to take the command! Villeneuve, who was entitled to the command, would have prevented the tragical catastrophe which took place, as he showed when the battle was over. The Orient blew

up

up with a dreadful noise at eleven o'clock in the evening. The whole horizon seemed on fire, the earth shook, and the smoke which proceeded from the vessel ascended heavily in a mass, like an immense black balloon. It then brightened up, and exhibited the objects of all descriptions, which were precipitated on the scene of the battle.

What a terrible moment of fear and desolation for the French, who witnessed this awful catastrophe! Nearly the whole of the crew of this unfortunate vessel perished that day. Gantheaume was the only flag-officer saved; and he succeeded in reaching Alexandria in a boat. The rules of the navy prohibit the breaking the line under the severest penalties. If Villeneuve, who commanded the right wing, could have broken it, he would have fallen back on the left, and continued the engagement in an advantageous position for the French. But he did not know of the death of Bruyès, and when he learned, that he was himself commander of the fleet, it was too late. Four vessels, obliged to break the line in consequence

consequence of the explosion of the Orient, run aground, being unable, abandoned as they were, to adopt a better course; and they defended themselves individually to the very last extremity. The William Tell, of 80 guns, on board of which Villeneuve repaired, the Genereux, and two frigates, were all that remained to him, and with them he set sail, after receiving the crews which Kleber had sent from Alexandria. The French vessels wished to prevent Villeneuve from retreating; but to give an idea of the wretched state to which they were reduced, the vigorous defence of the French, and what Villeneuve would have done, if he had had the command a little sooner, it may be sufficient to state, that the whole of Nelson's fleet could not prevent the melancholy remains of that of the French from getting under sail. It was attacked in its retreat, but it always turned on the English in such a manner, as to induce them to withdraw; and yet seven vessels only had fought on this day, and reduced the English to so dreadful a condition.

Such

Such was the famous battle of Aboukir, which immortalized Nelson, but ought to convince the English, that the French will have a navy, whenever they set seriously about it, or rather whenever they shall make the attempt. During the fatal explosion of the Orient, the conduct and death of the young Casabianca were deserving of remark. This boy, whose age did not exceed 13, displayed the utmost activity. Stationed among the guns, he encouraged the gunners and sailors, and when the firing happened to be impeded in the heat of the action, through excess of zeal and agitation, he restored order and tranquillity by a coolness, which was quite astonishing for his age; he made the gunners and sailors sensible of their inadvertencies, and took care that each gun was served with cartridges suited to its calibre.

He did not know, that his father had been mortally wounded; and when the fire broke out on board the Orient, and the guns were abandoned, this courageous child remained by himself, and called loudly on his father,

father, to tell him, if he could quit his post like the rest without dishonour. The fire was making dreadful ravages, yet he still waited for his father's answer; but in vain! At length an old sailor informed him of the misfortune of Casabianca, and told him, that he was ordered to save his son's life by surrendering. He refused, and ran to the gun-room. When he perceived his father, he threw himself upon him, held him in his close embrace, and declared, that he would never quit him. In vain his father entreated and threatened him; in vain the old sailor, who felt an attachment to his captain, wished to render him this last service. "*I must die, I will die with my father!*" answered the generous child. "*There is but a moment remaining,*" observed the sailor; "*I shall have great difficulty in saving myself; adieu!*" The flame reaching the powder, the vessel blew up, with the young Casabianca, who in vain covered with his body the mutilated remains of his father. Such is what the old sailor related to general Kleber and Louis, on landing at Alexandria.

This

This disastrous engagement was attended with the most important results. It changed the Egyptian expedition into a simple affair of colonization. It cut off the army, which, from thenceforward, was strictly blockaded: and English, Russians, Turks, and even Portuguese, covered the Mediterranean. The French navy, from the loss which it had sustained in Dupetit-Thouars, Casabianca, Thevenard, and so many other young and brilliant officers, received an injury, which, for a great length of time, could not possibly be repaired. This last disaster, so sad, so calamitous, completely discouraged it.

Louis was soon afterwards summoned to Cairo. He repaired to Rosetta, from whence he ascended the Nile. Immediately afterwards he visited the pyramids of Gizeh, the place which occupies the site of Memphis, the ruins of Heliopolis, and the citadel of Cairo, which contains the famous wells of Joseph.

Napoleon learned, that the Turks were assembling in Syria, and he resolved to advance

vance against them. It was also his intention, to recruit his army from the Christians of these countries, to make allies of them, and from the beginning to destroy the projects of his enemies. In doubt, whether he might not be attacked more directly by disembarkations at Alexandria, it was of the most essential importance to him to dissipate the clouds then forming in Syria, in order to return in time to allay the storm in Egypt, from which it was besides necessary to conceal the ravages made by disease in his army, as well as the dangers of his situation.

On setting out for Syria, he resolved to despatch to France one of his aides-de-camp, who should give an accurate account to the government of the state of affairs in the East, and on whose fidelity he could rely for returning with assistance, and hastening the preparations for their transmission. He made choice of his brother.

Nothing was now to be apprehended from his return to France, as, immediately after his departure,

departure, the lady of whom he was enamoured had been forced to give her hand to another.

Louis was also commissioned to present to the directory the colours taken by the army.

He took his departure in the smallest, the oldest, and the most crazy of the gun-boats. After a voyage of two months, during which he escaped, by a miracle, as it were, the Turkish, Russian, English, and even Portuguese vessels, and daily tempests, he reached Porto Vecchio, in Corsica, having by the way landed at Taranto, in Calabria, where he was detained twenty-seven days in quarantine.

He had so little idea of escaping a watery death, from the wretched state of the vessel, which depended on one miserable pump, that he gave orders to the captain to enter Messina, though he knew, that war was declared between France and Naples. But the violence of the wind threw the boat out of the Straits of Messina, and an English frigate was in chase. On that account he threw the

the colours, which he was to deliver to the directory, into the sea.

On his arrival he neglected no means of obtaining assistance; and he even procured the despatch of several *avisos*, with letters and officers, but no troops. General Dupont, who afterwards distinguished himself in the grand army, was the only person well disposed towards the army of the East. He was employed in the ministry of war. Some months afterwards there was a revolution in this government; Sieyes supplied the place of one of the two directors who were turned out; he showed a sincere desire to assist Napoleon.

Soon after this we received the accounts of the Syrian expedition and the second battle of Aboukir. The directory granted the assistance, and the troops demanded by Louis, who was busied with the details necessary for this expedition, when Napoleon arrived at Frejus, in an almost miraculous manner, with the two Venetian frigates, the Muiron and the Carrère, the heaviest and

worst sailing vessels that can possibly be imagined.

Louis, with Joseph, and general Leclerc, their brother-in-law, went to meet their brother. Louis fell sick at Autun, and on returning to Paris found Napoleon there, beside whom he resumed his old post of aide-de-camp.

The journey from Frejus to Paris was one continued triumph for Napoleon. He could not fail to perceive, how high he stood in public opinion. Fatigued with the Revolution, the French hailed with joy the re-appearance among them of the extraordinary man, whom they conceived to have been exiled by the then government, to which they imputed the reverses of the French armies, the loss of Italy, and the depredations committed in Switzerland. Every one beheld with joy the man, who could awe and unite all parties. They were delighted to witness in him the alliance of valour, and great military glory, with wisdom, humanity, and the love of religion, which Napoleon had so often manifested

nifested in Italy. In vain did his enemies, and the small number of persons who were jealous of his reputation, pretend, that he had purposely left France to cause his absence to be regretted; that with that view he had taken with him the flower of the French generals and troops; and in short that he was doubly guilty in returning without orders, and in abandoning his army. The whole nation condemned these accusations. *He is the most able*, they said, and he will manage affairs better than the directory; who, after the removal of Carnot and Barthelemi, inspired no longer either confidence or esteem.

Accordingly, he soon determined to place himself at the head of the government, and, having once embraced that resolution, he hastened to put it in execution. The directory could ruin an unsupported general. They were on their guard. They could not but see, how much the nation, the army, and Paris more especially, were disposed in favour of Napoleon; and his unforeseen and unauthorised

return could easily furnish them with grounds of accusation against him. But in republics public opinion is the true sovereign; and the man who is under its protection may brave every thing.

On the 8th of November the two councils gave command of their guard to general Buonaparte, and adjourned to the following day to St. Cloud. Two directors, Sieyes and Roger Ducos, joined the two councils. General Buonaparte sent orders to the guard of the directory to repair to the Tuilleries, and the orders were obeyed. On the next day, the 9th, notwithstanding the opposition of a number of young deputies, whose poniards threatened his existence, but who were dispersed, the new government was organized at St. Cloud. Three consuls were appointed: Buonaparte, Sieyes, and Roger Ducos. They returned immediately to Paris, and the new consuls entered on their office in the Luxemburg palace.

A few days after his elevation to the dignity

nity of consul of the republic, Napoleon named Louis, his brother and aide-de-camp, colonel of the 5th regiment of dragoons. He had been already placed in this corps as captain, on his return from Egypt.

This regiment remained for some time in garrison at Paris. It was afterwards sent to the army of the West, against the Chouans, that is to say, it was ordered to Normandy.

At this period La Vendee was restored to tranquillity; and endeavours were made, to bring about the same state of things in Normandy, though military operations were still carried on there on both sides. Reinforcements were sent, with a view to hasten the wished for pacification.

The 5th regiment of dragoons was stationed at Verneuil, and the infantry advanced and took position at Alençon.

Louis was extremely chagrined at being employed in this business, and he did not dissemble his feelings; but whatever were his sentiments, he was under the necessity of obeying.

obeying. Fortunately his regiment was not obliged to fight with Frenchmen; it remained in the position of Verneuil till the pacification, which happened a few weeks afterwards. In spite of all his efforts, however, to his great affliction, the town in which he was stationed became the theatre of a horrible tragedy.

The general of division and the infantry, commanded by the colonel of the 43d half brigade, returned from Alençon after the truce, bringing along with them the four chiefs of the Chouans as prisoners.

Scarcely had the infantry arrived at Verneuil, when a council of war was assembled, and these four unfortunate victims were tried, condemned, and executed.. Louis hastened to inform his brother of this proceeding, but they did not allow time for his courier to reach Paris. It was even wished, that, as colonel, he should act as president of the council, but this he refused with indignation: entreaties, orders, threats, all were fruitless. He protested against this infamous proceeding, and neglected

neglected nothing to prevent its taking place, but here he was powerless, because he was under the command of another.

He confined himself to his quarters, as if it had been a day of mourning, and ordered his officers to do the same; and was grievously afflicted at a catastrophe, which began to disgust him with a military life.

A few days afterwards, his regiment received orders to proceed, first to Versailles, to remain in garrison there, and afterwards to Paris, where two troops were organized, to make part of the army of reserve, which was assembling at Dijon.

When these two troops began their march he received orders, to place them under the command of a lieutenant-colonel; Louis obeyed, and remained at Paris.

Some time after the return of his brother from the brilliant campaign of Marengo, the proposition, that he should marry Hortensia de Beauharnais was renewed. This he refused, not from any unfavourable opinion entertained by him of the character or morals

morals of the young lady, who was the subject of general praise, but because he was afraid their characters were not suited to each other.

The solicitations for his marriage with Hortensia were again renewed soon afterwards, but they were equally fruitless.

In order to escape farther importunities on this subject, he eagerly embraced the idea of travelling, and witnessing the manœuvres of Potsdam. It was even his intention to extend his travels to Saxony, Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.

The manœuvres were over when he arrived at Berlin. He was received by the King and Queen in the kindest and most gracious manner; and he never from that time ceased to show the warmest attachment, and to express the highest esteem for the House of Prussia. And what an iron heart must he have had, who should not have been touched with the enchanting spectacle of a court at once military and polished, in which the most beautiful, the most gracious, and the most

most amiable of women enjoyed the love and affection, as well as the obedience of her subjects.

After remaining a month at Berlin he repaired to Dantzic, from whence he intended to proceed to St. Petersburg, and perhaps return by Lapland and Sweden; but an illness with which he was seized at Dantzic confined him there several weeks. During this period hostilities were renewed between France and Austria, which obliged him to return to France. On his way back he passed through Brunswick, where he was received by the duke with the grace and courtesy natural to that prince. He should have wished to see the sister of the great Frederick, but she was then dying.

On his return the proposals of marriage were renewed. As an army was sent to Portugal, he found means to absent himself once more, by procuring his regiment to be included in this army. An hour after his corps was in march for Spain, he repaired to La Malmaison, the country retreat of his brother,

to

to take leave of him and his sister-in-law. He was detained there more than a fortnight. But as he was afraid of again losing an opportunity of sharing in the war with the troops under his command, he set out in the night for Bourdeaux, without taking leave, and joined the army in that city.

He entered Spain at the head of his regiment and three battalions of infantry. He was encamped at Ciudad Rodrigo, after passing several weeks at Salamanca.

On passing through Mont-de-marsan, in the department of Landes, he was received with great demonstrations of joy, on account of his brother. The high honours that were paid him were annoying, because he was not entitled to them. He had scarcely entered the Hotel of the Prefecture, where dispositions had been made for his reception, when the whole of the authorities waited on him in a body.

He was engaged in military details with the officers, when the prefect made his appearance, and presented to him, with great solemnity,

lemnity, all the constituted authorities, at the head of which was the president of the tribunal, an old and venerable magistrate, who had his speech in his hand, and seemed determined on delivering it, with or without the consent of Louis. This was too much for the patience of Louis, who was merely a colonel; but to prevent it was out of his power, as all his remonstrances were placed to the account of false modesty. The orator advanced, therefore, and with solemn voice began in these words: *Young and valiant hero* . . . . . Instantly Louis approached him with a confidential air, smiling at the same time; and, snatching from him, in an energetic but familiar manner, the discourse which he held in his hands, pronounced these words aloud: "M. le President, I see that this discourse is addressed to my brother, I shall take care to acquaint him with the kind sentiments you entertain towards him; I can assure you, they will not be lost upon him," &c.—This put an end to the harangues and to the presentations.

The

The French army, under the command of general Leclerc, was ordered to act with the army of Spain, under the command of the Prince of the Peace. The Spanish head-quarters were at Badajos. Louis repaired thither with the general-in-chief Leclerc.—The King and Queen of Spain paid a visit to their army at Badajos.

He witnessed the entrance of their Catholic Majesties at Badajos, and was present at the grand review of the Spaniards. After a few skirmishes, the Spaniards having concluded a separate peace with Portugal, he returned to Ciudad Rodrigo with general Leclerc.

Negotiations were then going on at London for a general peace, and an armistice immediately took place. The French army received orders to go into cantonments. Louis accompanied his regiment to Zamora, and obtained permission to repair to Barréges, to try the effect of *douches* * on one of his knees,

* This French word has become naturalized in this country. It signifies the pouring of water on a diseased part of the body.—Tr.

which

which he had injured by a fall, and a rheumatism in his right hand, the effects of which he began to feel.

After passing the months of July, August, and September at Barréges, he returned to Paris at the period of the signature of the preliminaries of peace with England. This was in the beginning of October, 1801.

Immediately after his return, his sister-in-law again spoke to him of his marriage. She gave him daily invitations; but Louis laughed at this project, of which the execution seemed to him impossible. However, one evening when there was a ball at Malmaison, his sister-in-law took him apart, his brother joined them, and, after a long conference, they obtained from him his consent. The day for the ceremony was fixed, and on the 4th of January, 1802, the contract, the civil marriage, and the religious ceremony took place . . . . . Louis became a husband . . . . . Never was there a more gloomy ceremony—never had husband and wife a stronger presentiment of all the

the horrors of a forced and ill-suited marriage.

This was the commencement of his misfortunes; of his physical and moral sufferings: he was then 22 years of age. His constitution had been early formed, but his mind and his character were not yet entirely so. He possessed that *naiveté*, that excessive sincerity, which belongs essentially to infancy, the result of a private education, and of the grave and reflecting disposition of a man, forced to accustom himself, to live within himself.

This troublesome situation changed his character; it also affected his health, progressively, but without his perceiving it, as it were: from thenceforward he was a stranger to repose.

No calamities can be more real or more insupportable, than domestic troubles, because, from whatever part they proceed, they directly reach the heart.

Those of Louis stamped on his mind and his whole existence a sort of profound melancholy,

lancholy, a dejection, an aridity, so to speak, which nothing ever could, or ever will, remedy.

We shall now add a word or two with respect to his marriage, that we may avoid returning again to a subject, which has supplied libellers with so many calumnies and absurd stories.

Before the ceremony, during the benediction, and ever afterwards, they both equally and constantly felt, that they were not suited for each other, and yet they allowed themselves to be drawn into a marriage, which their relations, and the mother of Hortensia more especially, conceived to be essentially politic and necessary. From the 4th of January, 1802, down to the month of September, 1807, when they finally parted from each other, they remained together in all not more than four months, and that at three separate periods, with long intervals between; but they had three children, whom they loved with equal affection. The eldest, named Napoleon Charles, died in Holland, on the 5th of May, 1807; Napoleon

poleon Louis, the second, was baptized at St. Cloud, by his Holiness, Pope Pius VII., during the residence of the sovereign pontiff in France. This is the son whom Louis endeavoured to put in his place when he abdicated in 1810. The third received the name of Charles Louis Napoleon.

This constraint must appear singular, and would, in fact, be incredible in ordinary times; but in those in which they lived, in their position, and with their characters, as this work will exhibit them, the circumstance will appear less strange.

During the years 1802, 1803, and 1804, he was almost always either with his regiment, or at the mineral baths.

In 1804 he was named general of brigade, and retained the command of his regiment.

At this period the conspiracy of Georges, the death of Pichegru, and that of the duke d'Enghien took place. Louis could do nothing to prevent this catastrophe. He was then at Compiègne, where, besides his regiment, he commanded a brigade of dragoons, under

under the orders of general Baraguey d'Hilliers. He immediately repaired to Paris with Hortensia, when they learned this misfortune at Compeigne; but he was too late; besides, he could not have prevented it, as the First Consul was then deceived by too many intrigues. He could only add his tears to those of his mother-in-law, of Hortensia, and of his sister Caroline, all equally afflicted on account of such a misfortune. Napoleon was himself for several days melancholy, absent, and extremely slovenly. There cannot be a doubt, that he was perfidiously and rapidly drawn into this calamity.

Napoleon was fond of mixing with his enemies. He conceived himself possessed of sufficient strength of mind to be able to remain in a state of continual tension, to keep himself constantly on his guard, and to defend himself incessantly from the snares and the blows of enmity and falsehood. He even conceived, that he could turn these attempts to good account.

His enemies must allow, that he proved,

during almost his whole reign, that he could hold the thread of a multitude of different combinations. But then, if he for once even ceased to direct them, and to make himself thoroughly acquainted with them, the inconveniencies and misfortunes which afterwards happened could hardly fail to be the result; because, being no longer able to discriminate between frankness and insincerity, he was under the necessity of relying on faithlessness and enmity, and by that very means rendered the task of his friends more difficult.

The erection of the empire was thought of soon afterwards, and at this period Louis was named general of division and counsellor of state, attached to the section of legislation; while his brother Joseph, who had never been in the army, was named colonel of the 4th regiment of infantry, and employed in the camp at Boulogne. He could not understand the meaning of these contrasts; but he respected the secret reasons for a proceeding, which he imagined to be in harmony with the policy of the government.

The

The consecration and coronation of the Emperor took place shortly afterwards, on the 2d of December, 1804. Louis, at that time, partly lost the use of the fingers of his right hand. Cold, rheumatism, and the fatigue of all the different ceremonies, aided by the very slow but not the less real progress of his disease, which was unknown to his physicians, were no doubt the cause of this accident.

In the spring of 1805 the Emperor was busily engaged in making preparations for the expedition to England. The army of the coast was considerably increased; it went through the necessary exercises, and assumed a threatening aspect for England.

Louis had received the command of the army of reserve, composed of the two regiments of carabineers, of which he was colonel-general, and of two divisions of infantry. These troops being stationed not far from Lille, induced Louis to repair to the waters of St. Amand, situate in the environs, to re-establish his health before the embarkation should take place; but these waters,

like those of Plombières, which he had tried the preceding year, were unfavourable to him.

The army was ready to attempt the passage; overflowing with ardour, youth, and health, it would have done irreparable injury to England. It waited only for the French and Spanish fleet, consisting of more than 30 ships of the line, which was to sweep the Channel and protect the passage. But admiral Villeneuve, who commanded this fleet, after succeeding in effecting his escape from Brest, and deceiving the fleets of the enemy, which went in pursuit of him to the West Indies, returned to the coast of France, but not into the Channel; and without taking advantage of his good fortune in meeting the English with an inferior force, he at last allowed himself to be blockaded.

On the other hand, Austria was making considerable levies and other warlike preparations, and had entered into an alliance with the Russians. This induced Napoleon to suspend the expedition. He now directed his efforts against Austria. He proceeded with his army from the

the coast in order of battle, and by forced marches, to the Rhine, where he had scarcely arrived, when it commenced operations, as if it had been prepared for them by a residence of several months, and by local knowledge.

Prince Murat was suddenly appointed to the command of the reserve, which Louis had hitherto possessed, and the latter received the command of the garrison of Paris, in the absence of the Emperor.

During this campaign to the close of 1805, Louis displayed a zeal and an activity scarcely to be credited, in his command at Paris. He had accepted the command on condition, that he should confine himself to military affairs, and that all business connected with the police, and the other departments of his predecessor, should be entrusted to others. With few or no troops he maintained order, notwithstanding the embarrassed state of the finances, the intrigues and extreme agitation of all parties, and prodigious assemblages of the immense population of Paris, which multiplied and increased every night, from the impoverished

poverished state of the finances, the discredit of the Bank of France, the expectation of important events, and perhaps the designs of the factious.

Notwithstanding all these obstacles, he not only faced every difficulty, but sent off every day reinforcements to the grand army. He frequently corresponded with his brother, was present in the council of the ministers, and watched over the coasts of the West, Brest, Antwerp, and Holland.

When the Anglo-Swedish army and the Prussians threatened Holland and the north of France, the Emperor, who was seriously and vigorously employed in Austria, ordered the formation of an army of the North. With the utmost haste he despatched a courier to Louis, requesting him to exert himself, beyond his power even, in organizing this army, in order to afford protection to the north of France, and the dock-yards of Antwerp and Holland.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of the undertaking, which seemed altogether impossible

sible to the Emperor's ministers, by means of care, zeal, and activity, Louis succeeded in forming his army with prodigious quickness; and in a month after the date of the decree of his brother, to a day, he wrote to him from Nimeguen, that he was in position with his army ready to receive his orders.

Two divisions, under the command of generals Laval and Lorge, were at Juliers on the Rhine; two other divisions were in position at Nimeguen, and the two armies were on the frontiers of Holland towards Westphalia; so that in whatever direction the enemy moved, all the divisions could advance rapidly against him, while at the same time they covered the banks of the Rhine, Holland, and Antwerp, in case of any attack by sea. In this interval the strong places of Dutch Brabant were put in a defensible condition; Holland was tranquillised, and the Prussians, who a few days before did not see a single man to dispute their entrance into Holland, and the frontiers of France, appeared to be greatly surprised.

This

This operation had great influence on the negotiations at the French head quarters, between France and Prussia, which was on the point of declaring war. This measure Prussia did not take, and the Emperor learned from its minister, Count Haugwitz, that the army of the North was on the frontiers of the Prussian Duchy of Berg, while the Emperor was still doubtful as to the possibility of forming it. The first demand of Haugwitz was an order to prevent the advance of that army.

The Emperor publicly expressed his satisfaction to his brother in one of the bulletins of the grand army, as well as in his letters; but he soon after showed considerable displeasure, on account of the greater part of the garrison of Paris having quitted the capital, to reinforce the army of the North.

When, therefore, the news of the battle of Austerlitz, and the peace, arrived at Louis's head quarters, he hastily sent off to Paris the troops belonging to that garrison. He placed the rest of the troops under general Colaud,

Colaud, a senator, who had hitherto had the command of the first corps of the army of the North, to whom he left the command of the French army in Holland. He then proceeded to Strasburg, to meet the Emperor on his return to Paris after the brilliant campaign of Austerlitz, and the conclusion of peace.

When the army of the North was formed with such rapidity, and made its appearance so unexpectedly on the frontiers of Holland, Kalkreuth, the commander-in-chief of the Prussians at Wesel, wrote to Louis on some frivolous pretext, probably with a view of ascertaining whether he had yet reached the army: the latter answered, that he could not possibly believe a war would take place between France and Prussia, a war in every respect impolitic, and which could be attended with no benefit to the latter country. He then despatched, with all haste, the letter of the Prussian general and his answer, to the Emperor.

The Emperor gave a cold reception to his brother

brother at Strasburg. He reprimanded him for his precipitation in sending the troops from Paris, and for his prompt departure from Holland. The Emperor then let fall some words, with respect to his inclinations in relation to that country. "*Why have you quitted it?*" said he to Louis, "*they seemed to be fond of you there; you should have remained with them.*" "*On the conclusion of peace,*" answered Louis, "*I endeavoured to remedy the fault with which you reproached me in your letters, by sending back to their post the troops, which I drew from it for the formation of the army of the North. As to myself, to whom you entrusted the military command of the capital in your absence, it was my duty to have remained there till your return, had I not deemed it more advisable to advance to meet you on your way home. I own,*" he added, "*that the rumours which are in circulation in Holland with respect to myself, and a change of government in that country, have hastened my departure. These rumours are by no means agreeable to that free and estimable nation, and are not more acceptable*

to

to myself." He discovered, however, from some vague allusions in the reply of the Emperor, that these rumours were not unfounded. But Louis did not give himself much uneasiness on the subject; he was persuaded, that he should easily find pretexts for refusing the high rank which was destined for him, a rank of which he was not ambitious, but which was the object of the ardent wishes of several other members of his family.

The Emperor left Strasburg for Paris, followed by Louis: five months afterwards he was, however, obliged to expatriate himself.

PART II.

ACCESSION, AND THE YEAR 1806.

A DEPUTATION from Holland arrived in Paris towards the spring of 1806.

The deputies, five in number, were: Brantzen, ambassador at Paris; Verhuel, vice-minister; Gogel, minister of the finances; van Styrum, minister of their high mightinesses; and William Six, counsellor of state.

Couriers were despatched and instructions demanded, and after four months of negotiation, a treaty was concluded, by which royalty was established in Holland, and founded on constitutional laws. Louis was not invited to these negotiations. From observations, without any character of authenticity, which were made to him, he learned, that the conferences had reference to himself.

The members of the deputation at length waited

waited on him, informed him of all that had taken place, and endeavoured to induce him to accept the dignity. They assured him, that the nation gave him the preference. He did what he could to avoid expatriation; his brother answered, that he took the alarm too soon; but the Dutch deputies themselves informed him of the progress of the negotiation. Seeing the decisive hour approach, he determined on an obstinate refusal, when they came to announce to him the death of the old Stadtholder. "*The hereditary prince having renounced his office, and received Fulda by way of indemnity, you can no longer have any reasonable objection to the throne of Holland. We shall not now enter upon the question, whether we are compelled or not to demand a king. Be this as it may, nothing is more certain, than that with respect to you our demand is altogether voluntary; and, supported by the suffrages of nine tenths of the nation, we request you to connect your fate with ours, and prevent us from falling into other hands.*"

His brother explained himself more openly, and

and gave him to understand, that if he were not consulted in this affair, it was because a subject could not refuse to obey. Louis reflected, that he might be constrained by force; that, as the emperor was absolutely determined on the subject, what had happened to Joseph would, in all probability, happen to himself. Joseph, on account of his having refused the kingdom of Italy, was then at Naples. However, Louis made a last attempt. He wrote to his brother, that he felt the necessity of *the removal of the brothers of the Emperor* from France, but begged he would grant him the government of Genoa or Piedmont. His brother refused, and in a few days prince Talleyrand, then minister for foreign affairs, repaired to St. Leu*, and read aloud to Louis and Hortensia the treaty and constitution, which had just been adopted.

On being questioned whether he approved of it, he answered, that the mere reading of this document could not possibly enable him

* The country-house of Louis.—Tr.

to

to form any opinion respecting an object of so much importance; that being unacquainted with the discussions and the inquiries which had taken place, it was out of his power to tell, whether he was not made to promise more than he could possibly perform; but that he could assure his brother he should zealously devote himself to his new country, and endeavour to justify, in the mind of the nation, the good opinion of him, which the Emperor had undoubtedly expressed.

This interview took place on Tuesday, the 3d of June, 1806. Prince Talleyrand announced, that on the Thursday following the King of Holland would be proclaimed.

The existence of Louis in France became every day more insupportable. Without domestic comfort; without tranquillity; mute in the council; having no military occupation; seeing his functions in this respect confined to the introduction of officers for the purpose of administering the oath to them, and visiting the military school from time to time; bearing evident marks of disfavour; and few persons daring

daring to visit him, he felt himself in a state of constraint and *moral spasm*, which he could not have any longer supported, if events had not torn him from his position. "*In Holland,*" he said to himself, "*interests of various kinds, matters of necessity, and public affairs, will wholly occupy me. I shall bestow on my country all the affection, which I cannot display in my own family. I shall thus perhaps gradually recover from my physical and moral depression.*"

On the Thursday following Louis repaired to St. Cloud on an ordinary invitation, as if a mere presentation were only to take place.

He was at a loss, as to the forms with which an affair of such importance to him was to be conducted. He could only gain information on this subject indirectly, and from words thrown out by chance, as it were, though the conclusion was so near at hand.

Happening one day to be at the Tuileries, Prince Talleyrand entered to announce to the Emperor, that he had at length prevailed on the Dutch deputies to come to a conclusion. "*All is over,*" he added, "*but without Prince*

Louis I should never have been able to succeed." These last words astonished Louis.—"*What,*" said he, "*am I then only an accessary?*" But when he reflected a little on the subject, he was led to believe, that these expressions originated merely in a tone of levity and a feeling of self-sufficiency.

The 5th of June, 1806, was the day fixed for the proclamation of Louis as King of Holland. The ceremony took place in the following manner.

The ambassador of the Porte was presented the same day to the Emperor in solemn state. He delivered magnificent presents from Sultan Selim III. to the Emperor.

The Dutch deputies were not introduced till after the Turkish embassy had withdrawn.

Admiral Verhuel pronounced the following discourse:

"Sire,

"The representations of a people known for their courageous patience in times of difficulty, celebrated, we may venture to say, for

for the solidity of their judgment and their fidelity in fulfilling the engagements entered into by them, have conferred on us the honourable mission, of presenting ourselves before the throne of your Majesty.

"They have suffered long from the agitations of Europe and their own. Witnesses of the catastrophes which have overthrown several states, victims of the disorders by which all states have been shaken, they feel, that the nature of the interests and the relations, which now unite or divide the great powers, renders it absolutely necessary, that they should place themselves under the first political safeguard of Europe, and that their very weakness prescribes to them the necessity, of putting their *institutions in harmony* with those of the state, whose population has the power to secure them from the dangers of servitude or from ruin.

"Their representatives have deliberated with due solemnity on the circumstances of the times and the dreadful probabilities of the future. They have seen, in the very termina-

tion of the calamities with which Europe has long been afflicted, both the causes of their own sufferings, and the remedy to which they ought to have recourse.

"We are commissioned, sire, to express to your Majesty the wishes of the representatives of our people. We entreat you to grant to us, in our characters of supreme chiefs of our republic, the Prince Louis, your majesty's brother, as King of Holland, to whom we consign, with an entire and respectful confidence, the preservation of our laws the defence of our political rights, and all the interests of our dear country, under the sacred auspices of Providence, under the glorious protection of your imperial and royal Majesty, and finally, under the power of the paternal government which we demand from you. We dare, sire, to entertain the hope that Holland, now and for ever assured of the affection of the greatest of monarchs, and *intimately united by the same destiny* to your immense and immortal empire, will behold the revival of the days of its ancient glory, of a repose to which

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it has long been a stranger, and of its prosperity, which losses, no longer considered as irreparable, will only have temporarily affected."

The Emperor answered in these words:

"Representatives of the Batavian people; I have always considered it as the first interest of my crown to protect your country. Whenever I have interfered in your internal affairs, I have always been struck with the inconveniences attached to the uncertain form of your government. If governed by a popular assembly, it would have been influenced by intrigues, and agitated by the neighbouring powers; if governed by an elective magistrate, every renewal of this magistracy would have been moments of a critical nature for Europe, and the sequel for new maritime wars. All these inconveniences could only be obviated by an hereditary government. I advised the introduction of such a form, on the establishment of your last constitution, and the offer, which you now make of the crown

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of Holland to Prince Louis, is conformable to the interests of your country and to mine, and calculated to lead to the general repose of Europe. France has been generous enough to renounce all the claims, which the events of the war gave her over you. But I could not think of confiding the strong places, which cover my northern frontiers, to the custody of a faithless or doubtful hand. Representatives of the Batavian people, I adhere to the wishes of their High Mightinesses. I proclaim Prince Louis King of Holland. As for you, Prince, you will reign over this people. Their ancestors would not have acquired their independence without the assistance of France. After Holland became the ally of England, it was conquered, and it owes its existence a second time to France. Let it then be indebted to you for kings to protect its liberties, its laws, its religion, *but do not ever cease to be a Frenchman. The dignity of Constable of the Empire shall be preserved by you and your descendants; it will remind you of the duties which you have to fulfil towards*

towards me, and the importance which I attach to the custody of the strong places, which secure the north of my dominions, and which I confide to you. Preserve, Prince, among your troops, that spirit which I have seen them display on the field of battle. Preserve in your subjects sentiments of union and love for France. Be the terror of the wicked and the father of the good: this is the character of great kings."

Louis then stepped forward, and delivered the following speech, which he had communicated to the Emperor before the audience, and in which he had even made alterations agreeably to his desire.

"Sire,

"All my ambition was to sacrifice my life in the service of your Majesty. My happiness consisted in admiring, in the near relation in which I stood, all those qualities, which render you so dear to those who, like me, have so frequently witnessed the power and the effects of your genius. You will permit me then to feel

feel regret in being obliged to remove to a distance from you; *but my life and my will belong to you.* I shall leave you, to reign in Holland, as such is the desire of these people and the order of your Majesty. Sire, when your Majesty quitted France to vanquish Europe, which had conspired against you, you wished to rely on me for the protection of Holland from the invasion, with which it was threatened. On that occasion I appreciated the character of these people, and the qualities by which they are distinguished. Yes, sire, I shall feel proud in reigning over them. But, however glorious is the career which is opened to me, the constant protection of your Majesty, and the love and the patriotism of my new subjects, can alone allow me to entertain the hope, of curing evils occasioned by the accumulation of so many wars and other events in so small a number of years.

"Sire, when your Majesty shall put the last seal to your glory by giving peace to the world, the places which you confide to my custody, to that of my children, to the Dutch soldiers,

soldiers, who fought under your eyes at Austerlitz—these places shall be well kept."

The sitting then rose. The Emperor passed into another apartment to examine the presents sent by the Grand Signor. The new King preceded his brother, the ushers leading the way, and announcing the King of Holland.

That the Dutch owed their independence to France in the time of William I., and in 1795, is false. At this last period, Holland owed its independence to a treaty, which pressed heavily on it, but which was voluntary with both parties.

The communications to the senate were merely a repetition of the foregoing speeches. The Emperor in his message of the 5th of June explained himself as follows:

"Agreeably to the wishes of their High Mightinesses, we have proclaimed our well beloved brother, Louis Napoleon, King of Holland; the crown to be hereditary in full sovereignty,

sovereignty, in the order of primogeniture, in its natural, legitimate, and male descendency. It is our wish, at the same time, that the King of Holland shall preserve the dignity of Constable of the Empire, and we deem our determination on this point to accord with the interests of our people.

"In a military point of view, Holland possessing all the strong places which secure our northern frontier, it was of importance to the safety of our dominions, that the custody of them should be confided to persons of whose attachment we can entertain no doubt. In a commercial view, Holland being situated at the mouth of the great rivers which water a considerable part of our territory, it is necessary that we should have such a guarantee, that the *treaty which we shall conclude with it* should be exactly executed, in order to reconcile the interests of our manufactures and commerce with those of the commerce of this people. Holland, in short, is the *first political interest of France.* An elective magistracy

gistracy would have become the signal for a new war.

"Prince Louis, being animated with no personal ambition, has given us a proof of the love which he bears to us, and his esteem for the people of Holland, in accepting a throne, which imposes on him such great obligations."

When these documents appeared in the Moniteur, Louis was surprised at some of the passages, which filled him indeed with distress and uneasiness. He complained of them, and the very answer he received gave him ground for fresh apprehension, which reflection, however, soon dissipated. On considering the subject maturely, he could not conceive how he could have any thing to apprehend from the French government, by whose influence he ascended the throne. It had been justly stated, that he was not ambitious; but he gave himself up with an enthusiasm to the hope of being useful to two millions of men, to a celebrated nation, and he resolved to devote himself to their happiness. All those who approached

approached him might easily convince themselves, that, if his character, which was essentially mild, considerate, and moderate, was averse from intrigue, from false or deceitful policy or strong passions, he was every thing but insensible to the only object worthy of a good man and a king, that of the public welfare.

He remained nine days at St. Leu before he took his departure for Holland. During that time he endeavoured to gain from the Dutch deputies a general idea of the affairs of the country, and he paid a visit every day to his brother at St. Cloud.

From the first idea which he received of the situation of the country, it appeared, that the treasury was empty, and the state of affairs almost desperate; but he learned at the same time, that France owed to Holland from two to three millions of florins,* lent in the colonies of the East Indies to the French governors, by those of Holland. On making this

* The value of the Dutch florin is twenty-pence farthing.—Tr.

discovery,

discovery, the critical posture of affairs at the moment no longer filled him with apprehension, and he demanded from the Emperor the reimbursement of the sum in question, but he could obtain nothing. All that Louis carried with him into Holland amounted only to seven hundred thousand francs, which were due to him, as the arrears of his apanage, or annual allowance from the state, and which belonged to him personally.

It was his wish, to take with him to Holland a small French society, and he proposed to his officers to accompany him; but he declared to them at the same time, that he should expect each of those who followed him, to become in reality a Dutchman like himself; that he felt too acutely the pain of expatriation, to urge their determination; that in this respect he left them in the most perfect liberty, and gave them the whole week to reflect on the subject. All, with the exception of two, accepted the proposal; all were advanced and recompensed; but several of them violated their promises and their oaths. They occasioned

occasioned great trouble to Louis, by the reports secretly transmitted by them to France, reports always either false or exaggerated, and by their high pretensions and the tone which they adopted towards the Dutch. Every thing that was done became the subject of sarcastic animadversion, as if to censure had been their sole employment.

From the above unfavourable account, we must, however, particularly except lieutenant-general Noguès, an upright, generous, and sincere man, the King's first aide-de-camp; and the abbé de Lamblardie, his almoner, a worthy and respectable ecclesiastic, of a most venerable and patriarchal figure, which his soul did not belie. Well-informed, zealous, but kind and indulgent at the same time, the abbé united the most sincere and fervent devotion to a perfect toleration for others, and the greatest austerity of morals to a thorough knowledge of the world and its affairs. Both these individuals manifested their devotion to their King in the best and most convincing manner, by devoting themselves to their

their new country; but they both lost their lives in it. The former, though young, was affected with a pulmonary complaint, and the second was of a very advanced age.

Admiral Verhuel was appointed to the ministry of the marine, and Gogel to that of the finances. The former was immediately despatched to make preparations for the reception of the new King. Louis gave instructions to him, to countermand the assembling of a corps of French troops at the Hague, where they were to escort the King on his entrance, agreeably to the orders of the Emperor. He felt a repugnance to the display of a foreign protection, on arriving in a country which he already considered as his own, and to which he intended to devote himself.

The members of the deputation were the only Dutchmen whom he knew.

Brantzen, the ambassador of the old government to the Emperor, was a worthy man, and already considerably advanced in years. He was not deficient in the knowledge connected with his situation; and he was particularly distinguished,

distinguished for his good sense and judgment.

Gogel, minister of the finances, was a very able man. Of the new system of finances, then introduced into Holland, he was the author.

Van Styrum, deputy to the assembly of their High Mightinesses, was very well acquainted with the affairs of the country. He had always been in place since the revolution.

Verhuel, the minister, or rather secretary of state for the marine and the colonies, was the son of a gentleman of Guelderland. He was a lieutenant in the Dutch navy at the time of the revolution, and since 1795 had been unemployed. When the Emperor Napoleon demanded, in 1804, from the government of Holland, an old naval officer to command the Dutch flotilla at Boulogne, the brother of Verhuel, an old captain of a first-rate ship of war, a man in high estimation, was first named; but having refused the appointment, and recommended his younger brother, the latter received the situation, and

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was sent to France. From a lieutenant, therefore, he became in one day a vice-admiral. He commanded the flotilla which proceeded to Boulogne, with a courage and ability equal to his good fortune. Harassed in the passage by the English ships of the line and frigates, he sustained an honourable engagement not far from Cape Grinez. Verhuel was between thirty and forty years of age. He was tall, and of an agreeable and prepossessing exterior. His appearance was indicative of merit and character.

William Six, chancellor of state, was of a good family at Amsterdam. He, of all the deputation, spoke French the best. He was expeditious in business. His knowledge was superficial, but general, with respect to all the objects of government.

The King applied to Brantzen the ambassador for information, as to the merit and respectability of the persons whom he should find in place on his arrival. Far from having occasion to repent of the confidence he reposed

posed in him, he derived great benefit from his sincerity and judgment.

He set out from St. Leu on the 15th of June, with his children and their mother. Royal honours were every where paid to him on his passage through France. On the arrival of the new sovereign at the castle of Lacken, near Brussels, as he was approaching the Dutch frontiers, he changed his cockade; but it was not without pain, and shedding sincere tears, that he laid aside the French colours.

On his journey all the way to the Hague, he found numerous troops and crowds of people. The inhabitants of Dutch Brabant and the army displayed much joy.

He remarked on his road a great deal of bustle, but far too many soldiers, and too many triumphal arches, and among the populace more curiosity than interest.

Public men frequently deceive themselves by taking for interest the eagerness of the people to see them. Whatever may be the merit

merit of the individual, there is always more curiosity than interest. Every one is eager to compare the figure he sees with the accounts he has heard.

Van Hot, a deputy from their High Mightinesses, and the magistrates of Brabant, received him on the frontiers of the kingdom.

At Mardyck he was met by the president of the department of Holland, and the secretary. The president's name was Meermen, and that of the secretary Roel.

He arrived at the palace of Bois, near the Hague, on the 18th of June, 1806. He found the different secretaries of state, a deputation from their High Mightinesses, the minister from France to the old government, and all the French generals, assembled to receive him. After returning an answer to their compliments he withdrew.

The constitution reserved to the old counsellor-pensionary, Schimmelpennink, the perpetual presidency of the assembly of their High Mightinesses; but he did not accept this place, and withdrew to his estate at Overyssel.

He had even resigned his post on the 5th of June, and Verhuel, to whom the government was entrusted for a few days, received it from a provisional counsellor-pensionary. Till the day fixed for his entry into the Hague, the King employed himself in obtaining all possible local knowledge, in receiving deputations from all the provinces, the officers in the various departments of the public service, deputations from the different religious sects, and a great number of individuals.

All the secretaries of state were confirmed, with the exception of the secretary of state for the interior, and the secretary general of state.

The great officers of the crown were chosen from among his French followers. General Noguès, his first aide-de-camp, was named governor of the Hague, and grand huntsman; colonel Augustus de Caulaincourt, brother of the grand equerry of France, was named grand equerry of Holland; colonel de Brec, his aide-de-camp, was appointed grand marshal of the palace.

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We ought properly to begin the recital of the events and affairs of the government from the 23d of June, 1806, the day of the solemn entry of the King into the Hague, when the oaths of the members of their High Mightinesses were received; but it is first necessary to give a general view of the constitutional laws, the treaty of Paris, and whatever relates to change in the government. (See the Supplement, No. 2.)

It was observable in these documents, that in the first section of the constitutional laws, all the republican laws were preserved, and that a monarchy was thus engrafted on a republic, by which means numerous obstacles were thrown in the way of its establishment and consolidation in the spirit of the nation.

It was observable also, that the right of voting in the council of state had been left to ministers.

In the second section a pre-eminence was given to the King over the law, which was altogether

altogether at variance with the spirit of the first part.

In the third the King remarked with pain the restraints which had been imposed on him, by limiting the number of ministers to four, while under the counsellor-pensionary there was a greater number. The four deputies, he observed with a smile, *have shared the kingdom among themselves.* The fifth only, being very old and ambassador at Paris, could not be included.

In the fifth section another contradiction was apparent. The king has no longer any pre-eminence over the law, but the Legislative Body has pre-eminence over him.

Thus germes of discord and disorder were inserted in the constitution. The Legislative Body is alternatively called in it by that name, and by that of their High Mightinesses, a title which belonged to the body in which the sovereignty formerly resided. In the next place it was wished to retain the counsellor-pensionary in place, which would

have

have been very troublesome and very inconvenient for the authority of the King. Fortunately, the counsellor-pensionary did not accept the proposition. If he had accepted it, and the Legislative Body had been allowed at the same time to assume the influence of the old assembly of their High Mightinesses, there would, properly speaking, have been two governments in Holland at the same time.

But if there were room for these observations with respect to the constitutional laws, on the other hand there was ground for hope and encouragement from the solemn guarantee of the integrity and independence of Holland, and from the engagements relative to commerce and good neighbourhood; which were clearly, positively, and precisely detailed in articles 1 and 10 of the treaty, and in the reasons stated in the preamble. When he reflected seriously on his situation, he could not conceive how, or for what reason, France should not contribute to consolidate and to favour this government. He forgot all the doubts,

doubts, which had suggested themselves to him on this subject; he accused himself of giving way too much to suspicion, and he abandoned himself to the most complete confidence.

The first object to which the King turned his attention, was the organization of the different authorities. He immediately nominated the nine old counsellors of state, Messieurs *Six, van der Hasteel, Vichers, Goldberg, Devoss, van Steenwyck, Queysen, van Royen, and Jacobson.*

The secretary of state for foreign affairs acquainted the ministers accredited in Holland with the change, which had taken place in the government, and transmitted to them copies of the constitutional laws and the treaty.

It may be proper to cite some of the speeches pronounced on the arrival of the King, in order to convey an idea of the state of public opinion. The following are selected for that purpose.

Speech

Speech of Mr. Devoss van Steenwyck, president of their High Mightinesses.

"Sire,

"The assembly of their High Mightinesses attend here in a body to present their homage to your Majesty, and to congratulate you on your accession to the throne. In acquitting themselves of so solemn a duty, they request you, sire, to receive the expression of the sentiments of a nation, interesting in every point of view.

"The imperious circumstances, by which the political system of Europe has been overthrown, have reached this country. After experiencing many reverses, the nation looks forward to a termination of its long agitations; and ventures to indulge the hope, that to the sceptre confided to the foresight and the wisdom of your majesty, it will be indebted for a return to happiness as well as tranquillity.

"Peace, sire, is the first want of all Europe, and it is essentially necessary to Holland.

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May the creative genius of the great Napoleon soon enable it to enjoy that inestimable benefit!

"Sire; a nation celebrated for the purity of its morals is delighted to see in you the model of those virtues, which have distinguished it in all times. It resigns itself to the pleasing hope, that the paternal solicitude of your Majesty for its true interests will, under the sacred auspices of Providence, revive its industry and commerce, and renew its ancient glory and splendour. Thus the present generation and posterity will salute your Majesty with the name of restorer of the public prosperity."

The departmental administration of Holland, of which Mr. Loneq was speaker, expressed itself as follows:

"Sire,

"If there be any one instant more particularly calculated than another to excite the keenest emotions in the heart of a man, who

who loves his country, it is that in which the form of his government is changed.

"Your accession, sire, to the throne of Holland, will be for ever memorable in our annals, and after the many agitations and evils, which this people have experienced, their hope, under present circumstances, rests on that Providence, which directs the universe with goodness and wisdom, as well as on the talents and great qualities for which you are distinguished. Placed at the head of the assembly of this department, I am the organ, sire, of all the members of whom it is composed, and who have the honour to present themselves before your Majesty, to pay you the homage due to your august rank.

"Persuaded, that the happiness of a people is essentially dependent on the form of its government, and that the form is good in proportion to the degree of separation and mutual independence of the different powers, we have observed with joy, that that separation, and that independence, have been confirmed in the constitutional

constitutional act of this kingdom. That document, sire, affords us a fortunate presage, that all the powers will be invested with the degree of force necessary to insure the execution of the laws, repress disorders, and stifle individual ambition, which is so often productive of injury to the state.

"Persuaded, as your Majesty undoubtedly is, of this great and important truth, that the happiness of the people is inseparable from that of the prince, your government will be characterized by an inflexible justice; the felicity of Holland will be the constant object of your cares and desires; and you will protect its commerce and navigation, the prime sources of its prosperity. You will cause religion and morals to be respected in your empire; and if He who occupies the throne of the world deigns to bless the efforts of your Majesty, the development of every virtue, and every description of national prosperity, will be now and for ever the fortunate result."

The

The following is the address of the high national court of justice:

" Sire,

" The national court of justice have the honour to express to your Majesty the sentiments of their profound respect for your sacred person, and for the high dignity with which you are invested.

" We flatter ourselves that Divine Providence, in presenting us with the gift of your Majesty, wished to alleviate the disasters which have afflicted our country, and to put an end to our calamities.

" Yes, sire, you will fulfil our hopes. Your wisdom will direct our affairs; your goodness will be rewarded with our love; your government will give stability to the state; your royal family will preserve it to the latest posterity.

Justice has always been dear to our nation; exercised in your name it demands your high protection.

" Live, sire! live for the safety of our country.

country. May your government be always happy; may it produce the noblest fruits for the lustre of your name, and for the prosperity of your people. Already crowned with the laurels of war, may you soon enjoy the olive of peace.

"With the government, may at the same time every heroick virtue, wisdom, justice, and clemency, be hereditary in your royal house, as long as there are nations on the earth!!"

Discourse of M. de la Saussaye, minister of the Walloon church, in the name of the pastors of the Calvinist persuasion.

"Sire,

"The pastors and leaders of the reformed or calvinist churches of the Hague, have the honour to present to your Majesty the homage of their submission, their profound respect, and their good wishes.

"Ministers of religion, we can only speak its language. Your Majesty is worthy of hearing it. We consider, sire, your elevation

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to the throne of Holland as a dispensation of that adorable Providence by which all things are regulated, which disposes of all things with a sovereign authority, and whose ways, always profound, often mysterious, are directed by an unerring wisdom, which never fails to attain its object. All power, sire, is ordained of God, and good kings are the most precious gift which, in his love, he can bestow on men. Living images of the Divinity, and the representatives of God on earth, as it is in his name, it is also in his views, and according to his intentions, that they exercise their authority. By his example they do justice and practise clemency; the basis of their throne, the wish of their heart, the object of their ambition, and their labours, is the felicity of their subjects; they love them, as a father loves his children. We expect, sire, to find in your Majesty a monarch penetrated with these noble sentiments, and our expectations will not be disappointed. Yes, sire, you will fulfil these happy expectations in all their extent; and that feeling and generous cha-

racter,

racter, which every one attributes to your Majesty, is our guarantee.

" The people, sire, over whom you have to reign, are not distinguished merely by the rank they have always held among the nations, they may also assume to themselves the honour of several virtues. Their respect for religion, their humanity, their singular beneficence, their sincerity, their openness, the simplicity and decorum of their manners, are their noblest titles to glory, and ought to gain for them the esteem, the confidence, and the affection of their sovereign. You will exercise, sire, over this people the mildest and the most powerful empire, the empire which kindness and beneficence never fail to give, and you will find them always grateful and faithful. You will protect them: your cares, your solicitude, will afford them every day a proof, how dear they are to you; and they will answer your love by a corresponding affection on their part. A soul like yours, sire, can alone feel the value of such a recompense. Admirable concert! affecting harmony! do

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not cease to subsist between the King and his people for their mutual happiness!

"Such, sire, is the wish we entertain, and that we may not entertain it in vain, we address to the King of Kings the most fervent prayers, that he may be pleased, to pour out upon your Majesty all the abundance of his favours. May he bless you in your person, in that of the Queen, and in your august children! May he likewise add to these benedictions all those, which can render your reign peaceful and flourishing. Thus may the government of your Majesty, approved of God, and cherished and respected by men, become an epoch in history, elevate the nation to the highest degree of prosperity, fill your Majesty with glory, and transmit your name with renown to the most distant posterity."

The university of Leyden called to recollection in its discourse, that it had been protected and benefited by Henry the Great.

These harangues convey an exact idea of

the national mind and character; they demonstrate, that the Dutch are thoroughly acquainted with the principles by which they ought to be governed: they display their uneasiness and fears in this respect, as to the spirit of the new government; but this sententious and republican tone did not displease the King: "*There will be a pleasure,*" said he to those who were about him, "*in labouring for the liberty and prosperity of the Dutch; who, it seems to me, will know how to appreciate the exertions which are made for their sake.*" One of the great officers present observed, "To me it appears, as if they wished to give lessons to your Majesty." "*No,*" said the King, "*all that I have heard is just, as they have expressed my own opinions. I am obliged to them for their penetration in discovering them; and even if I thought otherwise, I should not be the less pleased with their frankness: I hate and despise flattery; every man ought to have sufficient strength of mind to be able to support the truth, and especially a King. If I thought these sentiments erroneous,*

I should combat them; but as I do not think them so, I can only approve of them. A republican leaven is in truth conspicuous in every part of these speeches, but I thereby see in what manner royalty can be nationalised in Holland."

The King replied to their High Mightinesses as follows:

" Gentlemen,

" I shall soon be enabled, to speak to you at greater length and more ostensibly, respecting the sentiments with which I am animated on ascending the throne; but in the mean time I wish you to be persuaded, that from the moment I set foot on the soil of the kingdom, I became a Dutchman. Men are the sport of events: I have been obliged to change my country; but whatever may befal me, I shall certainly remain always a Dutchman, for this will depend on myself alone. Be assured, then, that you cannot form a wish for your country, that I shall not share, or which I shall not

have anticipated. If the general peace should at length arrive, we shall see ourselves placed in better circumstances; if it be the determination of Heaven, that our evils and disasters should be continued, we will resign ourselves to its unchanging purpose; but we will, at the same time, avail ourselves of all the means which it may place within our reach, to remedy our evils and our losses."

He returned the following answer to the remarkable speech of the department of Holland.

"I thank you for the freedom with which you speak to me on this important occasion. Your principles are my own. If they were not, the esteem which I have for Holland would induce me, to take into consideration those which you lay before me; and I could not fail to adopt them, as they are the expression of truth.

"Form, in my opinion, has no influence on government. As much freedom may be enjoyed,

enjoyed, and individuals may be as happy, under the government of one man, as under the government of the multitude, or of several individuals. The essential and the only true foundations of every good government, and of the welfare and the prosperity of the whole, are equity and the empire of the laws, probity and the virtues of the nation, the devotion and love of the prince to his people. Your country affords me the guarantee of the former, and I hope to give you that of the sentiments, which you have a right to expect from a Dutch King."

To the High Court, he said:

" I have always professed great esteem and consideration for persons in your situation. A magistrate truly worthy of the name, he whom society entrusts with the interpretation of the laws, with pronouncing justice, with giving expression to the voice of reason and of Heaven, is the most useful and the

the most estimable man of the state; and he ought, for that reason, to be the dearest to the government.

"I shall protect justice, as I shall protect commerce, by preserving the access to it always open, and preventing any obstacle from impeding or restraining it. Besides, I have too high an idea of the responsibility and the gravity of the functions attributed to a judge, even to wish to exercise them. I repose my entire confidence, and my accountableness to Providence in this respect, on the conscience of each of you. I shall exercise the power of pardon, under the condition to which the constitution has thought proper to subject it; that of previously hearing your opinion: not only because I cannot do otherwise, but also because, not wishing to exercise this supreme and great privilege at random, or to enter into the investigation of crime, which belongs only to the judges; it is necessary that I should rely, in full security, on men of discerning minds, and of firm and pure consciences,

sciences, that I may be in perfect tranquillity for myself and the safety of my subjects.

" I thus, gentlemen, answer the wishes and sentiments you express to me, by the most perfect confidence. It is not without reason that I entertain it. I know that you are worthy of my esteem, from your intellectual acquirements, and your probity."

To the beautiful speech delivered by the pastor, La Saussaye, in the name of the reformed, or calvinistic clergy, he replied thus:

" Among the sentiments of confidence and attachment, which the inhabitants of this province vie with each other in expressing towards me, I distinguish those of the protestant churches.

" I have bound myself, to show an equal affection to all my subjects, and I shall find in it the satisfaction derived from justice and reason.

" In my reign there shall be no difference between estimable Dutchmen of whatever persuasion

persuasion they may be; you may therefore rely on my solicitude and regard."

To the curators and professors of the university of Leyden, he said:

"Good Dutchmen may calculate on my protection and care, especially when they contribute to the glory of their country, and are as useful to it as you are. I made inquiries respecting you before I saw you. I learned with pleasure, that the celebrated university of Leyden still continued to deserve the reputation which it had acquired. I shall pay a visit to you; I shall with pleasure avail myself of every opportunity to give fresh marks of my esteem to men so distinguished as you are. I am highly pleased to know you are in the neighbourhood of my residence."

These extracts will serve to give an idea of the spirit which animated the nation on the arrival of the King in Holland, and of that by which he was himself animated. He disclosed his sentiments more distinctly in the

the speech which he made to their High Mightinesses on the 23d of June, the day of his solemn entrance into the Hague. This speech may be styled the basis of the conduct of the King; and serves, in some measure, as a second introduction to this work.

Mr. van der Goes, minister for foreign affairs, discharged the functions of grand master of the ceremonies.

After the different members had advanced towards the throne, and taken the oath of fidelity to the King and the constitutional laws of the kingdom, the King pronounced the following speech:

"Gentlemen,

"When the deputies of the nation made an offer to me of the throne which I now ascend, I accepted it in the conviction, that I was called to it by the wish of the whole nation, and the general confidence and necessity.

"Relying on the intelligence, the zeal, and the patriotism of the principal public functionaries, particularly of you, the deputies, I surveyed,

surveyed, without fear, the evils of the nation in their whole extent.

Animated with the most ardent desire of promoting the happiness of this good people, and entertaining the hope, that I should one day succeed in procuring that happiness for them, I suppressed the sentiments which had hitherto been the object and constituted the felicity of my life. I could consent to change my country, to cease to be solely and entirely a Frenchman, after passing my whole life in discharging, to the best of my abilities, the duties which that name imposes on all who have the honour to bear it. I could consent, for the first time, to separate myself from him who, from my infancy, possessed my love and admiration; to abandon the repose and the independence to which those whom Heaven has called to govern others must remain strangers; in short, to quit him whose absence inspired me with fear, even in the most tranquil times, and whose presence banishes all idea of danger.

" I could consent to all this, and I should

consent

consent again, gentlemen, if I had not done so already, from the eagerness, the joy, the confidence of the people, whose territory I passed through. They proved to me, that you were the true interpreters of the sentiments of the nation, especially as I know I can rely with certainty on your zeal, your devotedness to the interests of your country, and your confidence and fidelity towards me.

"Gentlemen, from this day only the true independence of the United Provinces commences. A single glance bestowed on the ages which are passed, will suffice to convince us, that they never had a stable government, a certain and assured condition, and true independence.

"Under the famous people whom they fought and served by turns, as well as under the Franks, and the empire of the West, they were neither independent nor tranquil.

"They were not more so at a later period, and under the rule of Spain.

"Their multiplied wars and struggles, down to the period of the union, added to the

the glory of the nation, confirmed those qualities of loyalty, intrepidity, and honour, of which they always had the renown; but their efforts did not procure them either tranquillity or independence; not even under the authority of the Princes of Orange, who, being almost all great captains and politicians, were so useful to their country; but they kept it in perpetual agitation by affecting, or seeking to obtain, a power which the nation, unfortunately perhaps, refused to allow to them.

"Holland could not possibly be independent or tranquil in these latter times, in which exaggerated notions, and the general convulsions of Europe, have so long suspended the happiness of nations.

"After so many vicissitudes, agitations, and calamities, at a period when even great states are still becoming greater, and ameliorating and concentrating their government and their strength, this country could only find its security, a real government and genuine independence, in a moderate monarchy, a species of

of government which, for a great length of time, every nation has in turn, after a painful experience, recognized as the best; or if not absolutely so, at least as much so as the condition of human nature will admit

"Undoubtedly, if we could attain that perfection, which reason and the illusion of youth are led to conceive, society might dispense with the government of a single individual; the law would always be pronounced with wisdom, and executed without obstacle and without delay; virtue alone would be triumphant and rewarded, vices banished, and the wicked powerless. But these illusions are of short duration, and experience soon brings us back to positive ideas.

"Monarchy, however, would not of itself be sufficient for a country, which, though powerful and important, is yet not enough so for its position, which requires for its defence a large force both by land and sea. In this situation, such a connexion with one of the greatest powers of Europe, as may secure to it perpetual amity,

amity, without any encroachment on its independence, becomes essentially necessary.

"This, gentlemen, is what the nation has just effected. This is the object of the constitutional laws; and when I see myself charged with so glorious an office, when I find myself in the midst of a people, who are, and always will be mine, from my affection and care, I perceive with pride, that they furnish me with two great means of government, the national honour, and the national virtues.

"Yes, gentlemen, these are the true supports of the throne. I wish to have no other guards. For me, there shall neither be different religions nor different parties. Merit and services alone, shall with me form a ground of distinction. My object shall be, to remedy the evils which the country has suffered; and the longer these evils have endured, and the greater the difficulty in remedying them, the greater will my glory be, if successful. But in this endeavour I require the entire confidence of the nation, the devotion

tion and the intelligence of the distinguished persons whom it contains; and especially yours, gentlemen, which are already known to me.

" I make my appeal at this moment to all good and true Dutchmen, before the deputies of the provinces and the principal towns of the kingdom. Let them surround me with their talents and zeal! . . . . I see them before me with pleasure. Let them convey to their fellow-citizens the assurance of my solicitude and my affection. Let them, above all, carry with them the assurance of these sentiments to Amsterdam, that city, which is an honour to commerce and to the country, and which I am happy to proclaim my good and faithful capital. Let the deputies of the neighbouring city, the prosperity of which I hope to see splendidly revive, also carry with them to their fellow-citizens the same assurances.

" It is from these sentiments, gentlemen, from the union of all orders of the state, from that of my subjects among themselves, from the devotion of each to his duties, the only basis

basis on which the real felicity of men can rest, and, above all, from the union which saved the provinces from all dangers and all evils, and which was always their protecting shield, that I expect repose, security, the glory of the nation, and the happiness of my life."

This discourse was very much approved of. The legislative body requested to be allowed to present an answer to it, and a committee was named for that purpose on the 30th of June, when the president, Devoss, delivered the following speech.

"Sire,

"The assembly of their High Mightinesses are eager to present their sincere thanks to your Majesty for having been pleased to appear among them, and deigned to expose, in presence of the deputies of all the departments, and those of the principal cities, your profound views and liberal ideas.

"Never will the assembly forget the discourse,

course, full of energy and patriotism, with which your Majesty terminated the solemn sitting of the 23d of June. Be pleased, sire, to receive the expression of the sentiments of respect, confidence, and devotion, with which this august ceremony has inspired us. We shall never cease to entertain a proper sense of the extent of the promises which we have made; they will be inviolably observed; and it will be our sacred duty, to realise the flattering expectation which your Majesty entertains of our zeal, our love of country, and our fidelity.

" The character of a people, as cautious in their proceedings as constant in their affections, a people celebrated in all ages for their fidelity and attachment to the laws, affords us a security that the destinies of this state will be fixed for ever under the protection of a tutelary throne. Yes, sire, honour and virtue, those true supports of thrones, have survived, in our fellow-countrymen, so many years of revolutions and sacrifices. The inhabitants of this country have not degene-

rated from their ancestors, and the appeal, which your Majesty has made to all good and true Dutchmen, has not been made in vain.

"The time of political revolutions is passed, to return no more; and it would be the extreme of folly, not to profit by the lessons, which history and experience have given us, as to the nature of the government best suited to our present situation and the extent of our territory. Your Majesty has portrayed its character to us, and, supported by facts, you have developed the grounds of your opinion with a triumphant power of reasoning.

"A stable, just, and paternal government, such as we confidently expect from your Majesty, will prove the most efficacious means for reviving public spirit, which so many agitations and vicissitudes had almost wholly extinguished.

"Amongst the numerous advantages, which must result from the indissoluble ties that connect us with the great monarch who presides over the destinies of Europe, we include, with pride,

pride, our national independence, of which the Dutch have in all times been jealous. We share the regret felt by your Majesty, in separating yourself from him, who is admired by the whole universe, and whom France reveres as her tutelary angel. You, sire, will hereafter be our tutelary angel in every sense, and you may count on all that we can possibly contribute towards lightening the burden of the august but painful duties, which your Majesty took upon yourself, on ascending the throne of Holland. When, in consequence of a general and durable peace, a new life shall be infused into all Europe, the nations, with one accord, will bless the beneficent hand, that has re-established the liberty of the seas, caused commerce to flourish, protected agriculture, revived the ancient industry of the people, and diffused every where joy and abundance. Thus, the present and future generations will enjoy the happiness derived from the benefits of your Majesty. Your glory will be consecrated and irrevocably connected with the nation, whose accents

will be those of an eternal gratitude. May Providence watch over the days of your Majesty, and over the prosperity of a dynasty, to which the destinies of the country are attached!"

This answer gave the greatest pleasure to the King; for it proved to him, that his character and that of the nation were congenial. Not knowing the nation, and having now prepared himself for filling the most difficult throne of Europe, on account of the manners and spirit of the Dutch, he had meditated, during the evening which preceded the day of his entrance into the Hague, on what he should say to the general assembly of the nation, and sought the rules for his conduct in his own heart.

His first care was to form the ministry. He inquired into the respectability and merit of individuals, and on these qualities he founded his confidence. He knew no one, but he felt animated with the desire of promoting the good of the country, and he naturally

naturally concluded, he should in time find friends and faithful servants, on whose sincerity, patriotism, and frankness, he might place reliance. As to respectability, his first questions with regard to an individual, were, Is he an honourable man? Is he held in esteem? He had confirmed van der Goes in the ministry of foreign affairs. The minister of finances had the provisional direction of the ministry of the interior.

Appilius, the secretary of the council of state, a man of great activity and intelligence, and devoted to labour, intimately acquainted with the affairs of the country, and who could speak and write French well, gained at once the approbation of the King, notwithstanding his slovenly exterior; and he was re-elected without delay.

The King immediately abolished an illegal contribution, which the French consuls had imposed for their profit, on all vessels entering and leaving the ports of the country. Here he certainly acted imprudently.

It was very difficult for him to come at the truth.

truth. Every public functionary had his particular opinion; no two of them agreed as to any one affair, or even as to any one individual.

Before nominating van der Goes to the ministry for foreign affairs, he took him into his closet. "Endeavours have been made," he said to him, "to prepossess me against you, but even your enemies allow you to be an honest man. Are you willing to serve your country under me?" Van der Goes made the most solemn protestations of fidelity and attachment. "I cannot believe your protestations," said the King: "what attachment can you feel for a person of whom you have no knowledge? I hope, however, to be able, to convince you of my love and devotion to Holland, and then I shall have a claim to yours, as you are a worthy man, and the friend of your country. In the mean time, if you have a sufficiently good opinion of me, to believe me beforehand, and on my word, tell me whether I may rely on you. If not, have the candour and sincerity, to decline the situation."

situation." Van der Goes accepted it, and served with fidelity.

The King perceived at once, that the government of Holland must place its principal reliance on public opinion. He did not conceive, indeed, that he was bound to follow it with blind and implicit confidence in all cases, but merely that it was necessary it should enlighten his judgment, and guide and direct his attention This truth was of the greatest utility to him. Three men were pointed out to him by the public voice: Mollerus, Roell, and Twent. He sent for them, entered into a long conversation with them, and conceived a great esteem for all the three. He reposed the most absolute confidence in Roell, whom he named minister secretary of state; Mollerus accepted the ministry of the interior; and Twent, who was thoroughly acquainted with the administration of the dikes, was of the greatest utility to him in this respect. Situated as the King was, a stranger in so republican a country as Holland, it became necessary, either that he should endeavour

to

to change the ideas and habits of two millions of men, and reduce them to a conformity with those of a single individual, or that he should completely adopt those of the nation. This last resolution was that which the King embraced, as being both the most just and the most easy.

The manner in which the constitution was drawn up displeased him. It was, in the first place, connected with a treaty, and had reference besides to preceding constitutions. A new constitution was framed free from these defects, which received the approbation of their High Mightinesses. The number of ministers, limited in the former to four, was left undetermined in the new constitution. To remedy the inconvenience arising from this limitation in the former constitution, the name of general direction was indeed given to each of the ministries which were not designated in it. Under the second constitution, the general directions took the name of ministries.

He only, however, considered the constitution

tution then adopted, as a temporary work. It was for the nation itself, he thought, to adopt such a constitution as it might think fit, at the period when this was practicable, that is to say, at the general peace. His intention was to enable Holland, to do this with greater facility, and to leave it at liberty to manifest its wish in the most entire and efficacious manner. A monarchy modelled on that of the English seemed most suitable to the Dutch, who, however, ought to judge for themselves on this subject. Men, when collected together in society, must obey the laws, and conduct themselves with propriety, but they may well be allowed, to choose their own laws. The best constitution is not that which receives the approbation of political writers, but that which appears to the governed, to be best adapted to them.

If the nation on the one hand would have been greatly benefited by this measure, the King, on the other hand, would have obtained the naturalization and consolidation of his family in Holland. He wished, to leave to the

the nation the power of choosing another King, if it thought proper. This will be easily believed, when it is considered, that he placed in this action the glory and aim of his life, a glory of which he could not have been deprived, even if he had not been confirmed on the throne. From the commencement of his reign, therefore, he employed himself in drawing up in silence the plan of a constitution, of the most simple description, suited to the taste of the nation, and, though monarchical, in entire conformity to its habits.

Van Hof, a catholic of Brabant, the person who received him on the frontiers, on the part of their High Mightinesses, was appointed to the ministry of justice and police; and of all his ministers he showed the most attachment and devotion.

Van der Hern, ex-secretary general of the admiralty of Rotterdam, was appointed to the colonies, and Bonhomme, an old general, was named minister at war.

In what manner ought a king to employ his time? . . . . . The supreme head of the administration

administration should communicate his spirit and his will to all its branches. This unity of movement is the principal advantage of monarchy.

The whole of the instructions necessary in a monarchy may be comprised in two words.

With respect to the King, he ought to have a decided will of his own in all affairs, and to see that they all concur to one end, namely, the independence and safety of the estate, and the independence, safety, and prosperity of individuals, and to cause his orders and his decisions to be executed without failure or evasion.

As for the ministers or agents, they ought to follow the wishes and sentiments of the King, and never to lose sight of that object for a moment.

As the King could not possess a knowledge of the character of individuals, he was under the necessity of appointing to office men, to whom he was a stranger, so that he was obliged to think of the best means of becoming acquainted with their dispositions.

"*If*

"*If I lecture them, if I load them with instructions and questions, if I incessantly demand from them an account of their conduct, they will feign obedience, they will assume a mask, and while they appear to obey me, will in reality do quite the contrary; but if I allow them to go on in their own way for some time, without appearing to observe them, I shall see what road they will take, I shall see what they aim at; and by choosing those, who naturally, and of their accord, seem anxious to discharge their duty, I shall have sure ministers and faithful agents.*"

This plan had another advantage: that of giving him time to become acquainted with the affairs of the kingdom, and to study them in all their extent, to form correct and invariable ideas; for he felt that it would be a great mistake, absurd indeed, to begin to study the affairs of the country, and postpone the conducting of them, till he became completely master of them; the best school of instruction for public men being that of the things which

which succeed each other every day in their natural order.

He assembled his ministers, to obtain from them a knowledge of the affairs of the country. The following is the result. *Public Treasury:* two hundred thousand florins, in the hands of the receivers general; thirty-five millions of arrears of expenses, and one quarter of a year of annuities become due, amounting to nine millions of florins, making a total sum to be paid of forty-four millions of florins. A budget of seventy-eight millions of annual expenses, with thirty-five millions of certain revenue, which the new system was to raise to fifty millions; but then this new system had only yet been in part carried into execution, and it was loudly condemned by the public voice. This sum of seventy-eight millions of florins included the interest of the public debt, amounting to thirty-four millions and a half, and the sum necessary for the maintenance of the French troops, and the useless fleets of Boulogne, Flushing, and the Texel.

Notwithstanding this distress, two millions and

and half of florins had been thrown away in the following manner.

A contract was entered into with the company of Wils of Amsterdam, to send 800 men to Batavia, at an enormous expense. This feeble expedition cost two millions and a half, and a strange condition was inserted in the contract, by which the pensionary-counsellor was bound to pay the whole sum, should the expedition be frustrated by any obstacles not imputable to the house of Wils.

The troops, instead of embarking at the Helder, or Helvoetsluys, or Flushing, embarked at Amsterdam. They were stopped at the Helder, and as the French military authorities declared, that the expedition could not take place, the ships were laid up, and the design was renounced. The house of Wils, however, brought an action against the government, in which they were successful. They received two millions and a half of florins for the transportation of 800 men from Amsterdam to the Helder, a circumstance which seems almost incredible. The half of this

this sum was paid before the King's accession to the throne.

Dikes.—Here was no general system; every different town, village, or lordship, constructed dikes, and drained marshes on its own account. It merely required, as a matter of form, the approbation of the Supreme Council, which was composed of five members. Engineers were employed on these partial works, which, however, were often left to the principal workmen of the place, who had no other guide than a blind routine, and a sort of traditionary knowledge.

The functions of the general administration of the dikes were almost solely confined to the raising and regulating the employment of the funds necessary for these works; determining the disputes which arose with respect to this subject; judging of the necessity of the works and distribution of the assistance granted by the government; and making the arrangements necessary for a great number of partial loans required by the landholders, to enable them to defray their shares of the expenditure.

The

The head engineers themselves, men of ability and zeal, were frequently employed in these affairs of mere pecuniary management.

Two considerable works had been just commenced: the sluices of Catwyk, and the draining of the marsh of Niew Kope between Utrecht and Amsterdam.

On casting our eyes on maps of particular parts of the country, and following the course of the rivers and the principal dikes, we in vain endeavour to discover the general system followed with respect to these works, and the common object, which connected together the different individual undertakings. We can discover no general system; for there never was any. Every individual constructed dikes for the protection of his own estate, without regard to the detriment of his neighbour, and without concerning himself with the effect of these new obstacles on the banks; and even sometimes so as to be really detrimental to the improvement and safety of the land. Whenever any engineer, any enlightened man, raised his voice in favour of general

general and consistent system for a whole province, he was immediately silenced by a host of remonstrances and contradictions: "*Our fathers lived in this way; our fathers were preserved by the existing mode, and we shall follow their example.*"

But it was precisely because the soil had been so long preserved; because they had lived from hand to mouth, as it were; because they had only repaired the daily wastes and injuries, that great disasters were more and more to be feared every day. It is hardly possible to conceive how a people possessed of so much judgment can be so blind and infatuated, when they have incessantly before their eyes the great physical revolutions of their country, the Zuiderzee, the lake at Haarlem, the Bieschbosch, the Zuiderplaaz, near Rotterdam, &c. But it is with nations as with individuals; intelligence and judgment are not alone sufficient; the character and temperament must harmonize with them.

The want of a general plan was not the only great inconvenience in the general adminis-

tration of the *watterstadt**. There are two sorts of peat mosses, which are distinguished by the names of higher and lower turf grounds. The former are useful, because after they are wrought, the ground may be cultivated without being overflowed with water, or without the necessity of any other expense; but the lower turf grounds, after being wrought uniformly, leave a lake behind, which is always deep, and which it is sometimes impossible to drain. This is the cause of these internal seas between Amstelveen and Alphen, near Amsterdam, and between Meppel and Volkenhoven in Over Yssel, &c.

The King, immediately after his arrival, notwithstanding the poverty of the treasury, found means to continue the works of Catwyk, begun under the auspices of the pensionary-counsellor. He visited them, and approved of their utility for draining the grounds of the quarter of Leyden, called sometimes the *Ryn-*

* *Watterstadt* is a Dutch word for water administration. —Tr.

land,

land, of their superfluous waters; he praised the boldness and the solidity of the constructions, but he regretted, that the canal for discharging the water which passes under the sluice was not rendered navigable, when it would have been of great utility to the town of Leyden. As the sluices have to resist the currents, the accumulations of sand, and the waves of the sea, constant efforts are necessary to keep the bed of the sea, beyond the sluice, of a certain depth, in order to facilitate the evacuation of the interior waters; and, consequently, it would have cost little to construct a small port beyond the sluice. It was only necessary to leave a passage for the barges under the bridges of the canal.

He was called on to decide a question of great difficulty to one who was still unacquainted with the affairs of the country and the different local concerns. Between the cities of Amsterdam and Haarlem, the Slapperdyk, or the dike of the Slapper, secures the country from inundation during the high tides. For some years it had been observed,

that the sea rose higher and higher at the periods in question, and the inhabitants of the tract situate behind the Slapper wished an addition to the height of the dike. The inhabitants of Amsterdam maintained, on the other hand, with justice, that if the Slapper were raised higher, the water would be thrown back with more force on their city, which, on that account, would be in danger of submersion. They had always obliged the proprietors of the territory secured by the Slapper, called the Rynland, to leave their dike below the level of those of Amsterdam, in order to protect that city. The inhabitants of the Rynland maintained, on the other hand, that were they only exposed to a slight injury, as in former times, they would willingly leave things in their present state; but that, since the increase of the high tides, they were threatened with entire ruin, while no part of Amsterdam was exposed but the glacis and quays. The two parties warmly defended their respective pretensions. The professional men, though the King had the maps and

and plans before him, durst neither give their opinion, nor answer with sincerity; and he was very much embarrassed how to act. He concluded, with ordering the Slapperdyk to be raised, but he also ordered, that the dikes of Amsterdam should be raised in the same proportion. This decision was equitable, as the town remained in the same relation in this respect to the Rynland, in which it before stood, and the latter obtained the additional elevation of which it was desirous; but neither of the parties were satisfied, because in their heat of passion they lost sight of justice, and each wished to obtain security at the expense of his neighbour's safety. The inhabitants of Amsterdam protested against the consequences of this decision, and some months afterwards, when, during the period of the high tides, the waves of the sea threatened to overflow the dikes, notwithstanding the addition to their elevation, the populace murmured against the King; but no disagreeable accident took place, and experience demonstrated, that the wisest course was that which had been adopted.

Justice

Justice and Police.

The civil and criminal laws, though founded on the Roman law, were extremely complicated, from a number of old customs. There was even an astonishing difference between the different provinces in this respect. In one village, for instance, polygamy was punished capitally, while in a neighbouring village, subject to another jurisdiction, the same crime was only punished by a fine. The expenses were enormous, and personal considerations, introduced into the laws, had too much influence on the distribution of punishments. The Dutch judges are as just as they are enlightened. They are incorruptible, and the idea of soliciting a judge is altogether unknown in Holland. But the laws and customs allowed unjust differences in punishments, which were modified according to the rank, fortune, and situation of the guilty party.

As to the police, there existed only what is called a criminal police, which the attorneys-general of the tribunals exercised for the tribunals,

bunals, or for the oligarchists of their provinces. The municipal administrations possessed a police, from which the general government of the country derived no advantage. Hence foreign ministers, who had each his own, were better served in this respect than the King. This was very prejudicial to the government; the administration proceeded blindfold, relying either on its enemies, or on men who were in the service of foreigners; and it was opposed in its course by obstacle after obstacle. The administrations of the towns and departments still preserved, with the republican forms, the habits to which those forms gave rise.

Each department had a council of five members and upwards, who deliberated on every proceeding of the government in which they themselves were concerned, and who transmitted the edicts to the towns and the country, if they approved of them; and if they disapproved of them, they protested once, twice, and even still oftener, against their execution.

There

There was a similar council, merely for the finances.

The towns also considered themselves in the light of sovereigns; they disposed of all places in their interior, executed the orders of government when they pleased, but always tardily, and with modifications, obvious or concealed. As to the country, it was either ruled by an administration resembling that of the towns, and then a similar course of proceeding was followed, or it was subject to the administration of the lord, who for the most part nominated the bailiffs, secretaries, &c. and then the matter was still worse; for in this, as in every other nation where seigneurial rights exist, the great object of each lord was to exempt himself from burdens, and throw them on the inhabitants, and at the same time to withdraw his district from the influence, and even from the superintendence of the general administration, in order to be the sole and entire master of it. If ever the government even turned its eye to this state of things, the cry of injustice, despotism, arbitrary

arbitrary power, and innovation, was immediately set up, and this last word more particularly produced an universal impression in favour of the complainant; for in Holland every appearance of change or novelty is almost considered as a crime.

The army was held in much less consideration than the navy. It amounted to nearly 24,000 effective men; but in reality it was impossible to collect together more than 8 or 10,000, exclusive of the troops in Batavia, consisting of a battalion of Wurtemberg, and some islanders.

The army possessed a fine corps of artillery, and intelligent officers of engineers; the rest of the land forces consisted of the regiments of Saxe Gotha and Waldeck. The officers were almost all foreigners, and the troops were in general cast down and dispirited, from the effects of the contempt expressed for them, an awkward and coarse dress, and the diseases of which their bodies exhibited the signs, occasioned by the little care that was taken of their health.

The

The navy was in a better condition, and exhibited a more satisfactory aspect. At Boulogne there was a flotilla of 200 vessels (*batiments*—gunboats); and at the Helder, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, there were 14 ships of the line, either fitted out, or in the dockyards, with six frigates, several light vessels, and a second flotilla for the defence of the coast and the different ports.

The officers of the navy, though they had not had much experience of actual warfare, were characterised by a proud feeling of consequence, encouraged and maintained by the national spirit, and the general partiality to a species of force, requisite for the protection of commerce, and from which liberty has nothing to apprehend. The names of the principal officers were Verhuel, de Winter, Hartzinck, Hikkert, Bloys van Treslong, and Lemmers.

De Winter quitted his country at the commencement of the revolution, as a lieutenant of the navy, and returned with the French army, in which he had risen to the rank of brigadier-

brigadier-general. He afterwards entered the Dutch navy, with the rank of vice-admiral. He became known in consequence of the battle of October, 1797 in which he was taken prisoner, after a display of great valour.

Hartzinck commanded in the Indies, where, by his negligence and his love of pleasure, he lost his former reputation.

Bloys van Treslong capitulated at Surinam, when the colony was ceded to the English; on which occasion he lost his frigate. However, the King received so favourable an account of him, that he named him his aide-de-camp, without waiting for his acquittal by the sentence of a court-martial.

Lemmers, who only possessed the title of vice-admiral, was an excellent officer in every point of view; firm, intelligent, patriotic, full of zeal and honour. The King, who was not only obliged to find out distinguished men himself, but also to remove the obstacles which separated them from him, became acquainted with this officer at too late a period.

Something like a shadow of independence

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was still preserved in the ministry for foreign affairs. The ship-timber which passed through Dordrecht for the imperial navy at Antwerp paid no duty, and in every instance the ambassador demanded an exemption. This, however, was merely a matter of form, but, at all events, the notes, the tone, the conduct of the French legation were still characterised by propriety.

The exercise of religious worship was free, but no other ministers than those of the reformed or Calvinist communion received salaries. The catholics, even in the villages in which they formed the majority, had only small and insufficient rooms for the exercise of their religion, while the Calvinists possessed the great churches, which were often too large for them.

At Bois-le-Duc, where three-fourths of the population are catholics, the cathedral was occupied by the Calvinists, and the catholics did not even possess a single church, properly so called, but performed their service in chapels. At Amsterdam also, though the number

number of catholics amounted to 60,000, they had chapels only.

All the estates attached to parishes were exclusively possessed by the Calvinists. There were even villages, where the whole population paid a certain contribution for the support of the Calvinist minister, and the keeping up of the Calvinist church, while the majority of the inhabitants were catholics. The Calvinist ministers were at the head of the schools. All the children who, at a certain age, did not make a profession of faith, became Calvinists. The other christian persuasions, the Lutherans and anabaptists, were scarcely better treated than the catholics. The Lutherans in Holland are very moderate, modest, and pious, and the anabaptists are rich, industrious, and independent.

When the King happened to pass through a village, of which the aspect was agreeable, and which exhibited marks of industry and wealth, he used to say, there are anabaptists here, and he was seldom deceived.

The consequence was, that the catholics were

were less intelligent, less patriotic, and almost strangers in the country, for which they felt no affection: they were degraded, subject to every species of mortification, and unhappy.

The Jews, of whom half were rich, and the other half extremely poor, sighed under oppression, and became every day more and more degraded. A short time had only elapsed since they were permitted to settle in Utrecht and other towns; they were formerly confined to the suburbs. The catholics were not admitted to any post of honour, and the Jews were not allowed to hold any employment whatever. The latter formed a nation by themselves; their wretchedness, the shocking spectacle of their filth, and their diseases, made no impression on any one; *they are Jews* was the answer which was returned to whatever observations were made regarding them. With respect to internal vexations, acts of injustice, and even crimes, if different religious sects were only concerned, the government did not interfere with them. On a little reflection, it will be perceived

ceived that this state of things naturally resulted from the constitution of the country, as there was in fact no central government, and as the states-general, formerly invested with the sovereign authority, were in reality only an assembly of partial representatives of the country, representatives, feebly connected together, of very firm and powerful governments, and constituting, therefore, an inefficient body, which, without eyes and without direct interference, could merely express, in an uncertain and partial manner, resolutions deemed to be those of the nation. Hence in the towns the government was, indeed, strong and concentrated; but it might be called the government of the Calvinists only, as the Jews, and even the other christian communities, were considered merely as so many foreign societies, which it was necessary to support, because they paid burdens, and were useful with a view to the prosperity of commerce and the national industry.

The Jews were excluded from the ranks of armed citizens, but they had lately been allowed

lowed to enter the army. This was rather a proof of the low consideration in which the army was held, than of liberal sentiments towards the Jews.

The fairs and markets, particularly at Utrecht and Rotterdam, took place on their sabbath, which was of great detriment to them. As however an alteration in this respect would have deranged the established order of things among the Christians, the Jews could never obtain it. Their children were not admitted into the schools.

The Calvinists were very well off: it was, however, observable, that their churches, from their excessive simplicity, are not calculated to inspire the people with sufficient respect. They are not even obliged to attend divine service; and if a certain class make up for their absence by reading religious books, the same cannot be said of those who are unable to read.

In a village of the island of Tholen, the King, after visiting a Calvinist church, was struck with seeing in the church-yard an immense

mense heap of bones, formed, without any ceremony, in an open and public place where children were playing: they were human bones heaped together, without any roof over them. Orders were instantly given to re-bury them, and to erect an expiatory altar. When the burgo-master was interrogated respecting this piece of negligence, and the bad condition of his church, which was tolerably rich, he answered, "*We have a sufficiency of revenues, but we have employed the burying-ground money in agriculture, the best use to which we could put it.*" Is not this carrying village philosophy a little too far?

The agriculture of Holland was in a perfect state, especially in Zealand, but what a number of heaths and quantity of waste land there are yet in Gelderland, Utrecht, and Over Yssel! There was a society for the purpose of forwarding its progress in every province, and premiums were distributed by a central assembly for the destruction of beetles and other destructive insects. There was also a fund for premiums for the encouragement of

agriculture, and there was only wanting another for affording an indemnity to the victims of hail-storms and tempests, which were frequent and almost annual disasters.

Commerce will always flourish in Holland, so long as the country is independent, because the people are as much forced to apply themselves to trade, as a country at a distance from the sea is forced to apply to agriculture. Even in 1806, more trade was carried on than the King had imagined, and he resolved with himself to undertake every thing for its encouragement. He had no wish to direct it, no wish to point out the channels in which it ought to flow: "*You know better than I do,*" said he to the commercial deputies, "*what ought to be done, but I also know, that it is necessary to free you from all fetters and restraints; I merely wish to open your ports, and the rest concerns yourselves alone.*"

This is the proper place for examining whether regular and constant communications were then kept up with England. It must be owned, if there were no open and avowed communications,

communications, licences were not the less granted by the French generals and consuls for the pretended purpose of obtaining newspapers or military information. The country was benefited by this intercourse, and no one complained of it; but when the fees of the consuls were suppressed, and when, from a spirit of equity, all licences and privileges in the execution of the prohibitory laws were forbidden, then the complaints, notes, and remonstrances commenced.

Intercourse was still kept up with Batavia through America. The communication with Guiana was interrupted, but the English did not prevent the Dutch proprietors from receiving their rents, though that was attended with some difficulty. Except Batavia, and the petty establishments at Amboina, and other points of the Molucca islands, the only colonies still remaining in the possession of Holland were the islands of Curaçao and St. Eustatius, the rocks of Saba and St. Martin in America, and some military posts on the

coast of Guinea: it had recently lost the Cape of Good Hope.

The small or whale fishery scarcely existed, but every year a considerable number of vessels were still fitted out from the ports of Enchuysen, Hoorn, Harlingen, &c. for the great or herring fishery.

The manufactures of the country were in a state of decay, and the want of some general measure with respect to them, founded on a proper knowedge of the subject, was very much felt; but it was difficult to remedy the evil, because their deterioration did not proceed from any want of zeal or means, but from the more advanced progress of the arts in other countries, where the raw materials were cheaper, which gave them two great advantages over Holland; first, that of buying at a lower price, and, secondly, a less expensive workmanship, the result of the simplification of the different processes, and their greater perfection.

Though the arts and sciences were neither

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less cultivated, nor cultivated with less success than in other countries, no proofs of this were exhibited to the world. Insulated and occupied with their labours, the learned men of Holland, like true federalists, confined the theatre of their activity to their closets. If any one happened to publish a work truly deserving of notice, it remained unknown among the Dutch books, and seldom appeared in any other part of Europe. They did not take the trouble to translate it into another language, which alone could give publicity to it, and fix the measure of its value. Hence the application of the sciences to the arts and industry was no where less frequent.

In each province, however, with the inconsiderable exception of that of Drenthe and Dutch Brabant, which are in a more backward state than the rest, a general institution for the sciences and arts might easily have been formed.

The public instruction was excellent, especially the Latin schools, and the primary schools

schools had, perhaps, superfluities; but the number of universities was too great, there being no fewer than five, and their institutions and rules called for amendment. They contained men of the most distinguished merit, as for instance Wittenbeek, Sandifort, and Sigenbeek, at Leyden; Rossyn, Calkoen, Framery, and Vangeuns, at Utrecht; Camper, at Franeker in Friesland; Thomas a Tussinck, Guyot, and the Abbé de l'Epée, at Groningen; van Maanen, at Hardrevoyck in Gelderland, &c. &c.; but the kingdom was not sufficiently extensive for five establishments of this description. One alone would have sufficed to carry the arts and sciences to the necessary degree of perfection.

The navy, the engineers, and artillery of the army, possessed good elementary schools, but it would scarcely be believed, that the watterstadt possessed none. The hydraulic engineers either formed themselves, or acquired their knowledge in some private foundation. Conrad, who was the ablest of them

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in 1806, was taught in this manner. He had been the friend and disciple of the celebrated Brunings, the author of the sluices of Catwyk.—Brunings was a man possessed of truly grand ideas and profound learning. He died in 1806.

The fine arts had fallen off very much, but the country could still boast of several artists, worthy of the name; as for instance Schaffer of Amsterdam, the author of a national Historical-picture in the story of admiral Jacob Simonzoom de Ricks, surnamed the Regulus of Holland, Brouwer of Harlingen, the author of several Sea pieces, greatly esteemed, and Cobelt of Utrecht, a celebrated landscape painter.

Teerlingue, a landscape painter of Dordrecht, was a young man of high promise: he was sent to Rome, where he soon acquired a rank among the first artists of that capital of the arts as well as of Christendom. The schools for drawing were, however, badly regulated. In a country essentially and necessarily industrious, the mechanical arts require, in a more

more particular manner, the assistance of the sciences and fine arts. By their means machinery is simplified; good taste and truth are propagated; while by their employment and their continual application, industry is extended and improved, and acquires an utility which is always increasing. But Holland was divided into a great number of small states, which considered themselves as independent of each other, so that every city, and even every small town, endeavoured to form a complete system for itself in this respect. Hence, far from encouraging and promoting industry, these partial and multiplied concentrations prevented any thing like a general union of arts, and, consequently, were injurious to the object which they were intended to serve.

The cloth manufacture of Leyden and Tilburg, the linen manufacture of Over Yssel, the bleaching establishments of Haarlem, and the manufacture of paper and tobacco, were still carried on, but they suffered more and more every day from the tarifs and custom-house laws established in France; laws and tarifs which

which were frequently changed without any reason, and without its being possible for foreign countries to be prepared for the alterations. The King hoped he should be able to remedy this evil by the conclusion of a treaty of commerce, which was solemnly promised at the period when the constitutional laws were drawn up at Paris on the 24th of May, 1806: but he claimed in vain the accomplishment of a formal engagement.

We have seen the situation of the Dutch with respect to their civil and criminal laws. They were unequal, and might even be termed unjust; but the conscientious manner in which they were carried into execution, through the probity and firmness of the judges, remedied these material defects. The judges might, on a superficial consideration of their conduct, appear too severe, but, on a more deliberate examination, their impartiality and equity could not be mistaken. Imprisonment is a degrading and harsh punishment in Holland, as in every free country, from the pride and regard to character which

which are still retained by the people. No one could be, and no one was in fact imprisoned, in any other than an ostensible manner, by the authority of the judges, and for real crimes. Political or conventional crimes, by which a man is ordered for execution, for having left his country, or on account of political opinions, were unknown; however, the establishment of the new system of finances required punishments of great severity, which, perhaps, were ill chosen. Unfortunate men, who, weighed down with taxes and necessities, endeavoured to relieve themselves of a part of their burdens, or tardily obeyed the laws by which they were imposed, were subjected to as degrading a punishment, as that inflicted on robbers or assassins. These abuses were soon after remedied by the new code. In all cases in which the punishments usually appropriated to shameful and infamous acts are inflicted, the sentiments of judges must be in unison with, and seconded by public opinion. If the nation do not consider as shameful or infa-

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mous the acts which the laws declare to be such, the laws are tyrannical, immoral, and dangerous. In Holland, therefore, more than in any other country, perhaps, the police ought to be, and must be, connected with justice. Punishments of a severe nature were never inflicted by the police, nor without the avowal and superintendence of the permanent and legitimate tribunals.

A domiciliary visit in Holland was a public calamity.

Passports in the interior are oppressive in a commercial country; they were useless.

The Dutch were placed under no obligations in regard to the war, and it did not require much observation to convince the King, that the conscription would have caused the ruin of the country. Holland received every year from Westphalia, and other parts of Germany, from twenty to thirty thousand workmen, to assist them in their labours.

Notwithstanding the population of Holland, we may easily conceive that a people with whom an *incessant* and superior industry

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is a matter of absolute necessity; who must labour without relaxation to preserve their territory, and defend it from the ravages of the great rivers and of the ocean; who have much more trouble and difficulty than other nations, in cultivating and fertilising so expensive a soil; a people, whose principal resources are commerce and navigation, and to whom the sea is consequently the first and the true soil; a people, who themselves require the assistance of a great number of foreign hands, would have been at once completely ruined had they been deprived of their own.

Besides, excessive labour, sobriety, and liberty have in all times been necessary to the existence of this people:—*Excessive labour*, because by no other means was it possible for them to subsist in the most sterile and most ungrateful region of Europe; *sobriety*, because it was absolutely necessary to enable them to make a provision to meet the calamities and continual disasters, to which the country is subject; and *liberty*, because that

blessing

blessing alone could inspire the inhabitants with the desire of preferring a climate so little favoured by Heaven, and indemnify them for so many natural disadvantages.

The Dutch were never, therefore, subjected to a conscription, and the King resolved that he would never introduce it. But they had no civic guards, and this seemed to him both inconvenient, and irreconcileable with their aversion to a conscription. There did, indeed, exist a sort of civic armed bands, but this force was very ill organised, and hardly deserved the name. It was composed in general of idle persons, who volunteered their services, but who were ill armed, ill equipped, and few in number. It might be said, that this was a mere mockery of a force.

From this brief exposition it may be seen, that with care, and a little talent, even Holland, with respect to prosperity, liberty, and happiness, might easily be rendered the most remarkable country in Europe.

With regard to health, each province possessed a medical committee, subject to a general

general superintendant, who was connected with the ministry of the interior. But though this superintendant was one of the first physicians of the country, his instructions were obeyed with great difficulty. The committee of each province communicated with the government, agreeably to old habits, in the manner in which one college communicates with another. They seemed to think that the central point of the ministry was merely destined to collect the expression of the wishes of the provinces: they consumed too much time in deliberating.

The King projected meliorations with regard to the health and salubrity of the country. Subject himself to a slow and extraordinary disease from the age of 22, he had been induced to reflect on this important object, and to convince himself of certain truths in this respect. Medicine is more than a mere name. A great number of plants possess real virtues, and there are remedies for many chronical diseases, whilst those of this description which cannot be cured are either supportable, such

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as the gout, the rheumatism, &c., or are few in number, and connected with organic defects; but then observation is difficult. When a physician has attained sufficient knowledge to enable him to become useful, he dies. Diseases and the effects of remedies differ in the case of each individual. What care and trouble are necessary to guard against mistaking one symptom for another, and to distinguish the different diseases! Reasoning is frequently belied by experience; because, in our wonderful organization, there are secrets and subtleties which escape, and will always escape all reasoning and research. Notwithstanding these circumstances, physicians act as if their science was certain. Rousseau was in the right when he said, *Let us have medicine without physicians;* an expression full of good sense, which perfectly explains the difficulty of this science. The best mode of practice, except in the case of several acute diseases, which are subject to certain rules, and may be said to be completely under command, is not to set out from fixed principles,

ciples, as in the exact sciences, but to study the effect of the remedies, and their difference in the same case in different constitutions.

He would have wished to establish a college, for the purpose of collecting from all parts of the known world all possible remedies, and to diffuse and publish the knowledge of them throughout the kingdom. It was his opinion, that the measure, which is resorted to in times of contagion, ought to be adopted for diseases in ordinary times; that houses of convalescence should be established, where all deviation from the regimen and diet necessary for the recovery of the patient would be impossible. He wished also to establish a severe critical tribunal for physicians, to examine and decide on their conduct, and to publish the result of that examination in a particular journal every time a man died; and, on the other hand, to recompense all those who should cure remarkable diseases; to diminish the number of physicians; prohibit the sale of all medicines, which should not

not be of the first quality; to distribute them gratis to the poor, and in the villages. He had begun, at Amsterdam, the establishment of a royal laboratory, &c.

There are certain contradictions or inconsistencies in society, which it is hardly possible not to remark. For instance: What can be more essential to society than good physicians? and yet those who follow the medical profession are so numerous! How advantageous, therefore, would it be to diminish considerably the number! They ought to be distributed into several classes, for the purpose of pointing out to the public who are really the best, and preventing patients from misplacing their confidence, as they so frequently do. For two other projects he felt a warm interest, and meant to have bestowed on them the utmost attention. The first of these was, the ridding the country as much as possible, and by degrees, of mutilated, deformed, and rickety persons, and of all the children of a defective con-

formation, by facilitating their establishment in the colonies, by preventing marriages between people of this description, and by preventing the settlement, or even the long residence of deformed foreigners in the kingdom. The second project was, to enter into an arrangement with other countries, for the purpose of extirpating from Europe venereal diseases, the yellow fever, small-pox, &c.; to establish, for that purpose, lazarettos; and to adopt measures analogous to those resorted to as a security against the plague. Is not society established for the alleviation of the lot of unfortunate mortals; a race visibly degenerated, and placed here below as in a place of trial and purification.

Of the seven months of 1806 posterior to his accession, he passed August, and nearly the whole of September, at bathing-places; October and November with the army; and the month of December at the Hague.

The urgent wants of the treasury required immediate attention. The current expenses

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per month, as has been already stated, amounted to six millions of florins, nearly three millions of which went to pay the interest of the public debt. As this interest, however, had not been paid for three months, there was

An arrear of	*Fl.* 9 millions.
Current expenses of July, nearly . .	6
Current expenses in arrear, independent of interest of debt, for the army, navy, &c., including the affair of the company of Wils	35
Total amount due in July	50 millions.

while a few hundred thousand florins constituted the only fund in the possession of the treasury.

He spent several days in listening to and discussing the accounts of the resources and means of safety still possessed by the state. He declared at once to his ministers, that even had a promise, to respect the public debt, not been exacted from him on his acceptance

of the constitution, he would never have suffered the slightest encroachment on it, as he conceived it to be his first duty, to maintain inviolate the honour and credit of the nation; for without this the state could not fail to be plunged in irretrievable ruin.

" But (he continued to observe to the minister of finance, who persisted in describing to him the situation of the finances as defective), *you promise to raise the revenue to 55 millions of florins; and yet you tell me we are ruined! Say rather that we are saved.* This is my definitive resolution.

" The interest of the public debt amounts to 34 millions and a half, which we shall take at 35 millions. After paying this sum, there will remain 20 millions for public expenses, if you keep your promise to me *to add five millions to the revenue.* We must, therefore, gentlemen, reduce the expenditure of the last six months of 1806 to 10 millions of florins. This I know to be very difficult, but it is not impossible. I hope to prevail on France to recall the French

French troops, and to diminish the maritime force. Hence I rely on your regulating the expenditure of 1806 as follows:

" Civil list	*Fl.*750,000
Government	75,000
Navy	1,000,000
Finances	1,000,000
Foreign affairs	175,000
Interior, justice, and police	2,000,000
War	5,000,000
As to commerce and the colonies, the expenses of this ministry ought to be defrayed out of its own revenues	
Total	10,000,000"

Every one protested, that it was impossible to make these reductions. The King, however, had already despatched a courier to Paris, for the purpose of informing his brother, that he would instantly abdicate, if he neither paid what he owed to Holland, nor took the French troops into his own pay, and diminished the naval force. Without waiting for an answer, he gave orders for such reductions as were

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in his power; as, for instance, the discharge of the flotilla, and the transport vessels of Flushing and the Helder.

After discovering and indicating the only existing means of safety for the future, he fixed on the following measures, with a view to discharge the arrears of expenditure of the old government.

1. To create 500,000 florins of new annuities or interest, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which, if prudently disposed of, would produce from 16 to 18 millions of florins. With this sum the minister of finance undertook to liquidate the 35 millions of current debts.

2d. To allow the three months of interest in arrear to remain unpaid, till means should be found of effecting a considerable reduction of the public debt.

On examining carefully, whether all the arrears of revenue were collected, he discovered, that a great part of the revenue of the first half of 1806 remained still unaccounted for. The amount of this arrear was six millions, but it was reckoned only at four, and it

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was added to the budget of the last six months of 1806, which was then fixed as follows:

Civil list	*Fl.* 750,000
Government	600,000
Navy	1,880,000
Finances	1,500,000
Foreign affairs	175,000
Interior, justice, and police	3,000,000
War	6,000,000
Colonies	175,000
Total	14,080,000

But he declared, at the same time, that from and after the 1st January, 1807, the budget of 20 millions a-year formerly fixed should be continued, till a great reduction of the national debt placed a considerable additional revenue at the disposal of the government, which could not be looked for in less than twenty years.

On comparing the budget, thus regulated, with that of the preceding government, a considerable difference will be found between them. In fact, the new budget amounted, with the interest of the debt, including the

500,000

500,000 florins of interest created to discharge arrears of expenditure, to 55 millions of florins, which did not exceed the revenues, while the other amounted to 78 millions. The difference between the two amounted, therefore, to 23 millions. Shortly after, he received a favourable answer from Paris. The French troops received orders to withdraw, with the exception of two regiments and two general staffs, including that of Flushing.

He secretly gave orders for withdrawing, by little and little, the flotilla from Boulogne, on the pretext of repairs; and he dismissed a great number of sailors. And while every one was full of the most anxious curiosity to see how he would extricate himself from a financial situation, which was considered as almost desperate, people learned with astonishment, that he had not only provided for the wants of the moment, but also for the future. By adhering, in fact, rigidly and inviolably to this system of economy, the state was saved. It was wickedly and falsely objected, that the rank and the relations of

Holland

Holland necessarily required a budget of more than 20 millions; but he answered, that this sum ought to be sufficient, as other states, much more populous, did not possess a larger revenue.

Navy, 1806.

As to the navy, he at once felt, that, from the state of the finances, he must make an election between it and the army, and he gave a preference to the latter, because he would thereby be enabled to remove the foreign troops from the country, and to commence his independence. With respect to the navy, he confined himself to the giving it a good *nucleus*, securing it a good organization, till the melioration of the finances, and the maritime peace, should furnish the treasury with the means of supporting a respectable army and navy at the same time. The first corps received the title of Royal Corps.

He established permanent crews under the name of royal grenadiers of the navy, every one

one of which contained the number of officers, sub-officers, gunners, and topmen necessary for the equipment of a vessel, by which means, in time of war, a ship might be immediately fitted out by adding the complement of ordinary sailors, who might soon be procured without difficulty.

He also appointed companies: as the crews were never commanded by an officer lower than a colonel, or higher than a rear-admiral, the companies were never commanded by an officer lower than a lieutenant-colonel, or higher than a colonel of the navy. The former were destined to man ships of the line, and the latter to man frigates.

As to the army, the foreign regiments of Waldeck and Saxe Gotha were disbanded. The King wished, to render the army national, without conscription, and a career was opened for the most distinguished young men, by giving them lieutenancies, and establishing a military school, first at Honslardyk, a castle near the Hague, and afterwards in the Hague itself. The best officers were sought

sought out, and rapidly advanced. An experimental school was also established beside the royal guard, under the title of corps of cadets (*sous-officiers éleves*). These institutions succeeded, and in a few months the military instruction of the guard became general in the Dutch army.

On the accession in 1806, there was in Holland a guard of 800 men, three regiments of cavalry, and seven of infantry, a regiment of artillery, two companies of light artillery, and a corps of engineers.

The strength of the cavalry regiments was increased; one of them was transformed into hussars, and another into cuirassiers. The guard was composed of two regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a company of light artillery. As he did not wish a conscription, he encouraged voluntary enlistment by all possible means.

He destined all orphan boys to the military service, at least all those who were brought up and maintained at the public expense. As his

his object was to render the conscription useless, he was persuaded, that all persons in Holland would concur in carrying his views into execution; but he had yet to learn, that there is a great difference between a passive consent and a real obedience. Those who were aware of the true state of things, did not the less allow themselves to be carried away by their personal interests, their prejudices, and their habits. The slightest change is viewed by the Dutch as an object of the greatest importance. If one day be not in every respect like the day which preceded it, they are filled with astonishment, and that circumstance alone is sufficient to deprive them of their usual patient and phlegmatic character. The King used to say, "If an offer were made to pay the interest of the national debt in ducats, the Dutch would at once exclaim against its injustice, because it was a novelty." They are constant and equitable, but, at the same time, grumblers in the extreme.

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The formation of a national army was as necessary as it was difficult.

A small country is very unfortunate if unequal to its own defence, and to act as an independent state; but then a country with two millions of inhabitants, like Holland, cannot be considered small, and has a title to independence from its population, as well as from its situation, importance, industry, civilization, and wealth. Now a state of moderate extent does not require the aid of its powerful neighbours, to enable it to preserve its independence; nor can such a state maintain a formidable army, by which it would be ruined, even could it support the expense: a foreign army always siezes upon the country sooner or later.

One course can alone with safety be adopted, that of arming and training the whole population, which may be easily done, and which must render a country truly formidable, where the public force is really national, and can only be employed in defending the independence of the country, and the property

property and prosperity of all classes of the inhabitants. Hence liberty and prosperity are more necessary to a state of moderate extent than to any other.

A good system of general training, or national guard, cannot be easily established in every country. The population must be really armed and really trained, if it be wished, that the measure should become truly useful in the hour of danger. Now the government must have nothing to fear from the people, and it must not arm the citizens merely for form's sake, and repent of the institution, when its effects begin to be perceptible. Few things in the world would fail of success, if what we wish were only wished seriously and constantly, but we are naturally so theatrical, that, for the most part, we neither know what we are doing, nor what we desire.

To be really useful, a national guard must, above all things, be interested in the defence of the country. It has been unjustly said in our days, *that every thing should be done for the people, and nothing by the people.* In my opinion

nion it would be more correct to say, *Every thing should be done by the government, but nothing for it*, for though the government ought to be obeyed, it is, and ought only to be, the agent of the society.

How, then, can the whole of the citizens be really armed, and inspired with the wish to defend themselves, without causing apprehensions to the government? One thing, and one thing only is requisite, a free and constitutional monarchy, under a chief, the representative of the national majesty abroad and at home, but at the same time only the first minister of the nation and the laws.

Happy, then, thrice happy the nations of moderate extent, as it is absolutely necessary they should possess prosperity, and a prudent liberty.

From these remarks it is obvious, that a national guard can with difficulty be organized under any other than a constitutional monarchy. We may, indeed, plant the finest plants, and sow the best seed, but if the ground

ground be either unsuitable, or badly prepared, our labour will be thrown away.

Persuaded, that a monarchical government may be as free as any other government, if not the most free of all, when regulated by laws, the King wished to procure this advantage to his country by a good constitution, and then it would not have been difficult to form and train a national guard. His intention was to divide it into three corps. 1st, The first corps to be composed of volunteers; this would have comprehended all the young men willing to serve a certain number of years for the defence of the kingdom, who should be entitled to the enjoyment of great privileges, and the King wished to strengthen this corps by all the young men, brought up as orphans, capable of bearing arms: no one to obtain any office or employment of which the salary was paid by the state, without a previous service for some time in this corps. 2dly, The second corps, that of the national guard, properly so called (*schuttery*). This corps was destined to defend

fend the towns in the first place, and in case of extreme necessity to reinforce the *permanent or voluntary army*. 3dly, The reserve* was the third corps; it was to be formed of all the men above fifty, and of all the men still young, excluded in ordinary times from the two former corps, but who were to be forced to join the reserve when it was ordered out, that is to say, in cases of extreme danger. Neither priests, nor servants of the state, nor nobles, were to be exempted from it. It was destined for the defence of the towns in the first place, and was to extend to that of the frontiers in case of danger.

The King was the natural head of the whole of the national force, and neither he himself,

* *Arriere-ban*, in the original, which we have translated *reserve*, though the former expression is used by our writers, and is to be found in our Dictionaries, but its propriety in this place may well be questioned. *Arriere-ban* has a definite signification, as pertaining to a feudal institution, and the using it in another sense is calculated to produce confusion. Under the old law of France it meant the proclamation, by which the King summoned to the war both the mediate and immediate vassals of the crown. *Tr.*

nor any Prince of his family, were to be exempted from serving in it. It was incumbent on them, on the contrary, to form always a part of it, &c. &c.

Such were the principal foundations of his system on this essential subject, which depended on the constitution, as we have seen, and could not well succeed without it.

When he first entered on the affairs of the country, he felt the necessity of economy, and the suppression of all unnecessary expense. He immediately transmitted to the French government a picture of the alarming state of the finances, being unable to conceive why the Emperor should not do any thing for Holland. He received no other answer, however, than a recommendation to him to *impose a heavy tax on the interest of the national debt.* "*It is not you,*" the Emperor said to him, "*who can save Holland, let the Dutch themselves arrange matters with each other,*" *&c.*

The treaty of commerce, so formally promised, was equally refused. The Emperor wished

wished also the postponement of the coronation, and the foundation of an order of which he himself had given the first idea to his brother, when the latter demanded from him several *grand cordons* of the legion of honour.

The French government would not, certainly, have withdrawn its troops from Holland, had it not been for the hostile dispositions of Prussia, and the movements of its troops, which obliged France to increase the different corps of the French army in Germany.

General Dupont was not yet accredited at the court of the new government. Having a letter to present to the King, he delivered it to him without any formality while at dinner. It was received without distrust. This piece of unpardonable negligence was merely viewed as the result of family intimacy.

After putting the most urgent affairs of the government in order, he began to think of his health. He had recourse to every possible means for restoring it.

The baths of Wisbaden, near Mentz, were

recommended to him, and he repaired to them accordingly; but before his departure, he prepared instructions for the different ministers. The ministry of justice and police was responsible for the exact and impartial administration of justice, and the observation of the laws. It was the business of this ministry to see, that no sentence of death was carried into execution before it had been ascertained by himself, or one of the nine members of the supreme tribunal, whom the King was obliged, by the constitution, to consult before granting pardon, whether there was any ground for pardon, commutation, or diminution of punishment. In case any one of these ten persons thought there were any circumstances in favour of the condemned person, he ordered a pardon to be demanded, because he was determined always to grant it. He could see no reason why pardon should be granted to the tears, lamentations, or entreaties of the family of a criminal. "Were I to exercise my prerogative in this manner, I should be responsible

sible for the death of all those who have not had it in their power to apply to me, or who have not done so. As I cannot renounce the noblest prerogative of the crown, I wish to exercise it at least conscientiously. Being unable and unwilling to be a judge myself, I shall rely with respect to the right of pardon on the members of the supreme court and the ministry of justice. Their consciences shall be answerable for the acts of injustice, which may be committed in the exercise of this right."

This conduct did not originate in a mania for humanity, as his brother told him in his letters, but in a belief that he was responsible for the life of every Dutchman. A colonel is bound to give an account to the government of the men confided to him; a King in like manner is bound to give an account to God, to posterity, and to the nation, of all the individuals under his sway. This suspension only impeded the administration of justice in appearance, because there were few or no capital condemnations in so short a period of time.

time. The King merely took additional precautions with respect to a subject of much importance in times of war and extraordinary animosity. It will be seen hereafter that he succeeded in establishing an uniformity throughout the whole country, by framing a criminal code, in the discussions with regard to which he took an active part. The punishment of death was, indeed, retained, but he had in view its suppression on a maritime peace, when it might be possible to settle the constitution of the country on a solid basis.

This secret intention may, no doubt, be called in question, as there is no distinct proof of it; but when it is considered, that, during the five years of his reign, under the most painful circumstances, he never wished to approve of any sentence inflicting capital punishment; that he granted the lives of all those in whose behalf applications were made to him; that no sentence of death was executed till the criminal had applied for pardon, and his demand was examined by the supreme court and the ministry: it will be allowed,

lowed, that he could have no other secret motive, than his horror of the punishment of death, which he conceived to be beyond the power of society, and his desire of acquiring at length the glory of effacing it from the code of Holland. Certainly if this punishment could be dispensed with any where, it must be in such a country as Holland. No name of any person condemned to death ever came to his knowledge during his reign. The right of pardon is, undoubtedly, a noble privilege; but it is one which it is difficult to exercise conscientiously, and in such a way as to be compatible with equity.

He recommended to the ministers and agents abroad, to try every possible means of making themselves agreeable to the sovereigns at whose courts they were accredited; to rank themselves always among the partisans of their government, and to exert all their efforts to acquire to Holland, and the King the esteem and the friendship of other nations.

The minister Gogel promised to raise the revenue to 65 millions of florins, when the introduction

introduction of his system should be completed, by the addition of five millions to the existing taxes. He was to pay off the 35 millions of arrears of expenditure by means of a creation of 500,000 florins of annuities; he was to attend to the collection of the arrears of taxes, and to prepare the introduction of the permanent budget of 30 millions for the 1st of January, 1807.

After providing for the principal objects of administration, he repaired to the baths of Wisbaden, near Mentz. He hoped to recover the complete use of his right hand, and to arrest the progress of the general indisposition, under which he had laboured for several years.

He availed himself of his residence at Mentz to acquire some knowledge of the Dutch language. He received every day reports with respect to the execution of the orders issued by him previous to his departure.

He had recommended to his ministers, to entertain the greatest consideration, and show the greatest respect, for foreign governments and

and their agents, and to take care, that the Dutch journalists did not imitate several of those of France, who, in the consequence which their presses gave them, did not hesitate to read lectures to all kings and governments. It was, therefore, with pain, as well as surprise, that he saw the journal of Amsterdam indulge in insulting language towards Austria and Prussia. He caused this journal to be suppressed, and he gave satisfaction to the ministers of these two powers, or at least to their agents.

He appointed general Dumonceau, who had made the campaign of 1805 under the Emperor, as ambassador to Paris, conceiving him a person likely to be agreeable; but the Emperor peremptorily refused to receive him, and wished to retain old Brantzen.

In answer to fresh applications, the Emperor wrote to his brother: "*You are losing your colonies; I shall do nothing for Holland, if you diminish your land and sea forces. You must have 50,000 men, and 20 ships of the line, and impose a heavy tax on the interest of the national*

national debt. It is impossible for you to save Holland, and why do you interfere with it? &c. I do not wish to have general Dumonceau, &c."

The Emperor advised his brother not to write to foreign courts; but this advice was not followed.

"*Flushing is undivided,*" he also observed, "*and you ought, therefore, to withdraw the Dutch administration from it. I wish no other commandant than my own. It is my intention to construct great works there, which will be of advantage to the country, and with the interior administration I will have no concern.*"

By a singular accident Verhuel, the minister of the marine, without being authorised, made also, at the very time the Emperor was expressing himself in this manner, reiterated propositions for transporting the naval establishments of Flushing to Helvoetsleuys.

General van Geryck, whom the King appointed commandant at Flushing, was not recognized by the French. The King was at length obliged to consent to withdraw from that

that town the establishments of the Dutch navy.

The King, in his relations with the Emperor, did not separate the brother from the head of the government, whilst in the familiar correspondence the Emperor took no notice of any thing but what was burdensome to that country. He considered all that he had promised for the advantage of the country as nothing, because it had taken place confidentially. Hence the King of Holland could not fail to be perpetually duped. He ought to have confined his communications to the expression of his sentiments on family affairs, and never to have spoken to his brother on the slightest business, except through his ministers, and to have considered all that reached him through other channels as never having taken place. The Dutch, it is true, confiding in his possession of some secret influence, would have blamed this excessive reserve, and attributed to him the failures or the misfortunes of Holland; but there was no other course for him to adopt, particularly, as he had never been able,

able, from the moment of his accession, to comprehend the inexplicable contradictions in the conduct observed with respect to him.

The abdication of the Emperor of Germany, who took the title of Emperor of Austria, happened about this period.

The Emperor Napoleon had observed to his brother, at the period of his elevation, how inconvenient it was to Holland, to have no conscription, and that he had long wished its introduction. However, he wrote to him: "*I shall give you my opinion as to the best means of recruiting your forces, when I have received the memorial which I asked from you on this subject. I believe, that you have no conscription in Holland: we shall try to arrange things in such a manner, as to give you soldiers and not rabble,*" &c.

In every letter he pressed the subject of bankruptcy.

The King was frequently unable to repress a painful foreboding with respect to the intentions and sentiments of his brother towards him; but he in vain attempted to discover the object

object of them. The thought, that he, perhaps, wished to unite Holland to his dominions through him, and by making a sacrifice of him, frequently came across his mind; but he could not bring himself seriously to entertain this idea. How could he believe, that he wished to make his name, his brother, his own work, an instrument of perfidy, and of death for a whole people!!! He endeavoured to discover other reasons, and persuaded himself, that there were some secret causes for such conduct. In the first place, the resemblance of the Dutch to the English might render the Emperor their enemy. In the next place, said he to himself, he wishes, perhaps, the introduction of the conscription, that the Dutch, the neighbours of the French, may not enjoy an advantage over them. And, lastly, he wishes a bankruptcy, because he believes that Holland will then be able to supply France abundantly with troops, vessels, and money.

On the 15th of August, the Emperor's birthday was celebrated at the Hague, in the King's absence,

absence, by the officers of the court, and all the Frenchmen who happened to be in Holland; but none of the solemnities usual in the case of the sovereign of a country were observed on this occasion.

Prussia advanced towards the frontiers. Neither that power nor Austria had yet acknowledged this new government.

He wrote to Paris; but, to his astonishment, he received no communication in return. He then assembled all his troops in the camp of Zest, near Utrecht, under the orders of general Dumonceau, and as soon as he was convinced of the probability of the war, he quitted the baths and returned to the Hague.

On his arrival his whole care was immediately directed to the formation and increase of his army; but at Bois-le-Duc he was met by the minister Gogel, who came to inform him, that the finances were in a desperate state. However the nation was accustomed to the three months arrears of interest, which it had been resolved to allow to remain unpaid;

paid; the creation of 500,000 florins of additional annuities had almost entirely discharged the arrears of expenses; and the increase of taxes, and the new financial system, were, if not completely, at least in a great measure in operation. But Gogel lost heart on seeing the approach of war. The King gave only credit to the observations of this minister, so far as they related to a bankruptcy. He strengthened himself and strengthened his minister in the opinion, that to tax the interest of the national debt was equivalent to the dissolution of society.

It became necessary, however, to hasten the warlike preparations; in the first place, because France, to all appearance, did not mean to concern herself with the defence of Holland, during the serious contest which was approaching, or even to leave her army in that country; and, in the next place, because, under the pretext of covering Holland, which was bare of troops, she could easily occupy the country whenever she chose. He was well aware, that it was necessity, and not the

the desire of relieving Holland, which had induced France to diminish the number of her troops.

He appointed the French colonel Tavayre to the command of his guard. This officer had distinguished himself at the siege of St. Jean d'Acre by an act of bravery; and he was well informed and skilful. He gave the command of his horse-guard to captain Travers, of the 5th regiment of dragoons, formerly his own regiment, an officer of cavalry whom he had always distinguished and protected.

The month of September was approaching to a close: the war between France and Prussia was not yet declared, but the armies were in motion, and both of them entrenched themselves on the right bank of the Rhine.

The Prussians made also warlike demonstrations towards the frontiers of Holland: they assembled in East Frieseland, and threatened the adjoining province of Groningen.

The Emperor's letters became then more consolatory for Holland; but he exacted the greatest

greatest efforts and the greatest military supplies possible, for which he promised ample indemnification.

The King redoubled his activity in consequence of these promises, and also from the fear lest the country might remain uncovered during the approaching conflict.

The public treasury could not procure supplies of money at Amsterdam or Rotterdam; he neither wished nor had it in his power to renounce the system of economy which had been adopted, the only remaining means of safety for the state; neither did he wish any voluntary contribution, or any forced loan, an illegal and disastrous measure, especially in Holland, where public credit is, or at least ought to be, the basis of the financial system. No other plan remained but that of anticipation; and he had recourse to it, in order to make the necessary warlike preparations, in the hope that the war would be successful, and that the army would then be able to provide for itself, and that he should thereby remain below the budget decreed for the

year. Moreover, the land-tax was demanded in advance, on the old basis, by way of a payment to account, as the new basis had not yet been determined on.

He formed his troops into two corps. With one, amounting to 15,000 men, he intended to march himself to Wesel, his first position. The second, formed of his guard, which was not yet completely organized, and of some other detachments, was to remain encamped at Zest, under the command of the French general Michaud. Though he had few troops, and was in bad health, he was extremely rejoiced to march with a corps of the national army. His zeal communicated itself to the army, and the young men of the country, a considerable number of whom followed him as officers, for the conveyance of orders *(officiers d'ordonnance)*, or guards of honour.

In this manner preparations were making for the campaign, when M. de Turenne, an officer employed as courier *(officier d'ordonnance)*, arrived at the Hague, with long despatches

despatches from the Emperor. This was towards the end of September. The Emperor communicated to him his plans for the campaign, and assured him, that he had fruitlessly tried every means of preserving peace with Prussia. These despatches would alone suffice, if necessary, to prove the profound genius of the Emperor, and to fill even his enemies with admiration.

"*You will make a useful diversion at Wesel* (he said), *where I request you to assemble your army, augmented by French troops. This army will take the name of army of the North. You will manage matters so as to induce a belief, that it is much stronger than it really is. If the Prussians show themselves in Holland, and allow themselves to be deceived, they are ruined. If they do not adopt this course, they are still ruined. Whilst they suppose that I am establishing my line of operations parallel to them and the Rhine, I have already calculated that in a few hours after the declaration, they cannot prevent me from outflanking their left, and ad-*

vancing a greater force against it than they can oppose to me, and than is necessary for its destruction. When their line is once broken, all their efforts to afford assistance to their left will operate against themselves. Separated and cut off in their march, they will fall successively into my lines. The results are incalculable. Perhaps I shall be at Berlin in less than six weeks. My army is stronger than that of the Prussians, and though they should even beat me at first, they would immediately find me in their centre with a hundred thousand fresh troops, pursuing my plan," &c. &c.

It is impossible to give a precise idea of the *grandioso*, the truth, and the science of his calculations. With the maps spread out before him, the King followed in anticipation the designs of the Emperor, and observed to Caulincourt and de Broc, his aides-de-camp, on leaving his cabinet: "The Prussians are beaten."

Unfortunately he was hurt by two essential articles in these communications, which all

at

at once deprived him of the ardour he had hitherto displayed. The Emperor wished that his troops should not unite in corps, nor in divisions, nor even in brigades. Each brigade was to be composed of a French and a Dutch regiment, and commanded by a French general. The artillery, which was entirely Dutch, was to be commanded by a French general.

In the second place, his brother informed him, "that he wished to drive the Elector of Cassel from his dominions; that marshal Mortier, who commanded the 8th corps of the grand army, stationed near Mentz, was entrusted with this expedition; but that as he had few troops, it was indispensably necessary, that the Dutch army should be in readiness to assist marshal Mortier, and contribute to drive out the Elector, who, being a Prussian general, wished to remain neuter, merely for the purpose of more effectually injuring the French army, in the rear of which he happened to be placed."

This project was very distressing to him, and

and completely deprived him of all the military enthusiasm he at first felt. A short time had only elapsed since he received the baron de Beaublet, the minister of the Elector, whom he assured of his friendly dispositions. He could have wished to get rid of his promise, but it was too late. The Emperor solicited his departure, and he was obliged to promise to be at Wesel by the 1st of October with his troops.

He consoled himself, however, for the distressing situation in which he saw himself involved, with the hope of reviving the national spirit in the army: and as to the affair of Cassel, he flattered himself, that by means of some delay he should be able to avoid taking any part in it. As he commanded his troops in person, he was induced to believe, that events would furnish him with the means of taking another direction than that of Hesse.

It was with great pain, also, that he brought himself to agree to the amalgamation, as it were, of his own with the French troops. How was it possible for him, in this manner,

manner, to infuse into them a national spirit, revive their pride, and, in short, make them what they formerly were?

He left in the camp at Zest the Dutch general Dumonceau, to whom he also confided the command of all the troops remaining in the country. He set out at length to join the army with general Michaud, a brave, loyal, and enlightened officer, very much beloved and esteemed in Holland, where he had long commanded the French troops.

The Dutch corps took position at Wesel. The King inspired the officers and the soldiers with a new spirit, by meliorating their condition, and making great promotions. This army was to protect the frontiers, and those of France, should they remain exposed during the grand manœuvres, which were on the point of taking place.

He ordered the construction of a bridge of boats at Wesel, to secure a prompt communication between the two banks of the Rhine.

General Loison commanded at Wesel. He attached

attached him to his corps, and took him with him into Germany.

He gave orders, that the fortress of Wesel should be supplied with provisions in great haste, and, to facilitate this operation, he prohibited the exportation of grain by this part of the frontiers of the empire.

He added to his corps the 22d French regiment of the line, commanded by colonel Clement, and demanded from France, agreeably to the authority received by him for that purpose from the Emperor, the disposable troops at Paris, and the *gens d'armerie* of the neighbouring departments.

From the plan of the campaign, which the Emperor Napoleon communicated to him by M. de Turenne, it was probable, that he would have to stand the first shock of the Prussian army; and report, as well as the movements of the Prussians in East Frieseland, gave some weight to this opinion.

Every thing which depended on Holland, or the King, in the organization of the army, was attended with success.

When

When he quitted Wesel towards the 15th of October, and advanced into Westphalia, he had nearly 20,000 men, 3000 horse, and 40 pieces of cannon. Wesel was supplied with provisions; the bridge was finished; the communications from this central point were established on both banks, with Holland on the one hand, and Mentz on the other. He had even succeeded in conveying gun-boats to this last fortress; and a small flotilla was also stationed before Wesel.

The celebrated battle of Jena took place on the 14th of October.

The Dutch army, or, as it was also called, the army of the North, advanced into Westphalia, and occupied Munster, and the two abbeys, which had been a subject of discussion between the King of Prussia and the Grand Duke of Berg.

The two abbeys were immediately given up to the agents of the Grand Duke of Berg.

Osnabruck and Paderborn were also occupied.

East

East Frieseland was invaded by the Dutch divisions of general Daendels.

These countries were occupied in the name of the Franco-Dutch army.

The Prussians evacuated the whole of this part of Germany, with the exception of the strong places of Hameln and Nienburg, which the army of the North was preparing to attack. When the advanced guard, commanded by general Michaud, reached Paderborn, an aide-de-camp arrived from marshal Mortier, demanding assistance. The corps of this marshal, which was only composed of two regiments of light infantry, was on the point of engaging the Elector. The Hessians were very superior in force, and the King could not, therefore, dispense with sending every possible assistance to the eighth corps, and consequently marching himself on Cassel, unless he chose to remain alone, and to send his troops to the marshal, who in that case would never have returned them. There was, therefore, no room for hesitation, more especially,

especially, as, if any misfortune had happened to the eighth corps, neither the King nor Holland would ever have been forgiven. He marched, then, in all diligence to Hesse, and postponed the operations against Hameln and Nienburg.

On his approach to Cassel on the 1st of November, he met the baron de Golsa, an equerry of the Elector, who complimented him on the part of his master.—The King knew, that the Emperor considered the Elector as an enemy, that he would not allow him to remain neuter on his rear, and that he would be glad to find some pretext for occupying his country, and consequently would not be sorry to hear of his flight. Hence the King charged the baron to tell the Elector, *That it was against his will he had invaded his territories; but that having been obliged to take part in this war, and being at the head of a French corps, he could not avoid conforming to the dispositions of the grand army; but that, as a neighbour and sovereign, he conceived he might, without betraying his duty of general*

general and ally, advise him to remain in his capital; that if he acted otherwise, possession would be taken of his country, whereas if he continued firm, matters might still be arranged, as he had declared his wish to remain neutral.— But while he made this communication with perfect sincerity, the *chargé d'affaires* of France made a communication of quite a contrary nature at Cassel, which marshal Mortier had already entered; so that when the Dutch army approached Cassel on the 1st of November, it was informed by the French posts, that the eighth corps entered the city on the preceding day, and that the Elector had fled. He then ordered his troops to halt without entering Cassel. He had a conference with marshal Mortier, in which he learned with astonishment, that this general had orders to take all the Dutch troops under his command. He announced to the marshal, that, as his troops were not wanted, he should return to Westphalia, which was very imperfectly secured against the incursions of the numerous troops of the camp at Hameln and the

the fortress of Nienburg. He departed in fact next day. After passing the night at Cassel in the house of the minister of France, he paid a visit to the Electress, but refused to lodge in the palace.

He despatched an aide-de-camp to his brother, who was already at Berlin, complaining of the conduct observed with regard to him, and announcing his wish to return, because the affairs of the war being in so prosperous a train, his presence was no longer necessary. The Emperor wrote him a very kind letter, in which he assured him of his friendship, and the interest he took in the welfare of Holland. When he received this letter, he was already near Hameln on his return. The Prussians had a corps of from ten to twelve thousand men there. A division had made an irruption into the country round Munster and Osnabruck, which it was then scouring.

On leaving Cassel, the King gave a place in his carriage to general Dupont Chaumont, minister of France to the old government of Holland,

Holland, who had followed him into Westphalia. He then learned, for the first time, his true position, and the policy of the French government towards Holland.

General Dupont Chaumont was a good diplomatist, but a very enlightened, very respectable, and a very moderate man. The King learned from his answers, which were sometimes confidential, and escaped in conversations which lasted the whole day, that the reason why there was no minister of France to the new King of Holland was, *that the affairs of that country were not yet terminated;* that on that account the King of Holland was only considered in the *grand army* as a French Prince; that the order of the union, the coronation, &c. were not agreeable to the Emperor; that the Dutch troops could not remain together as a corps; that they would not be allowed to remain alone in the countries occupied by the combined army under the orders of the King; and, in short, that the establishment of royalty in Holland was not definitively fixed.

It

It is difficult to form any conception of the painful feelings produced by the conviction which he derived from this disclosure. It only inspired him, however, with a more decided determination to espouse more warmly the interests of Holland, and to allow no consideration to interfere with that determination. "*Being neither able nor willing*," he said to himself, "*to oppose France with open force, the public must at least know the truth, and be convinced, that if I have been deceived, nothing shall detach me from a country which has become mine, and with which I am connected by the most sacred duties and oaths.*"

Thus the truth was at length discovered. He now understood the contradiction in the orders and letters, which he had received with regard to Cassel. A thousand reflections, a thousand circumstances which had occurred since his accession, forced themselves on his recollection, to confirm all his apprehensions, and he was only astonished, that he did not discover long before what now remained beyond a doubt. He learned at length, that he ought

ought to act and to consider himself solely as King of Holland, and he was extremely impatient to return to the Hague to change his system, and to frustrate the effect of a thousand little dispositions, which he had hitherto adopted in too confiding a spirit, by way of drawing more closely the ties between the two countries, but which, from what he had learned, might become fatal to Holland and himself.—The two strong places of Hameln and Nienburg, occupied by the Prussians, were on his way in his return, and he formed the project of blockading, but not taking them, that he might keep his troops occupied in the neighbourhood of Holland, and avoid sending them into Prussia. As to himself, he was determined to return, after compelling the corps of the enemy's troops which had sallied from Hameln, and was now overrunning the country, to re-enter that place. This corps re-entered it accordingly, as soon as it was informed of the approach of the Dutch army. The army presented itself before Hameln, and had an engagement, in which

which the Dutch horse guard and the Dutch hussars only took part. The Prussians were driven back into their entrenchments, and lost a hundred men in killed, wounded, or prisoners: the Dutch lost about twenty men in killed and wounded; colonel Loyer, adjutant of the palace, was of the number of the killed, and Laatz, lieutenant-colonel of the horse guards, of the number of the wounded.

General Daendels occupied Reinteln, a place situated on the Weser, between Hameln and Nienburg, necessary for the blockade of these two fortresses, and to interrupt the communication between them.

Next day the place was invested, and he established himself on the hill of the citadel. On the following night several couriers arrived from the Emperor, with injunctions to him to enter Hanover, and occupy that country. Marshal Mortier was to advance to Hamburg with the half of the King's troops; and Hameln and Nienburg were not to be occupied.

But the Prussian army was dispersed;

Blucher had been forced at Lubeck; and the King now saw, with sufficient clearness, that the Emperor wished to make him a mere officer of the grand army. He would have been inexcusable, if he had allowed himself to be again drawn into a commission like that of Cassel, after the experience he had already had. He therefore placed the whole of the French troops under the command of marshal Mortier; he sent for general Dumonceau from Holland, to whom he confided the command of all his troops, and whom he entrusted with the blockade of the strong places on the Weser. He refused even to treat respecting the capitulation, for which offers were made a short time before his departure. He wrote to his brother, that he was obliged to return immediately to Holland, and that it was out of his power to proceed to Hanover and Hamburg, according to the wishes of the Emperor. He thus returned with the sad conviction, that he was on the throne contrary to the secret intentions of the power which ought to be his support. The fortresses of

Hameln

Hameln and Nienburg surrendered shortly afterwards, on the mere summons of general Savary, aide-de-camp to the Emperor.

The details of the negotiation with lord Lauderdale were laid before the public about this time in the journals. Among the documents published respecting this negotiation, the following article was remarked in Holland. (See the answer to the first note of lord Lauderdale of the 7th of August, 1806).

"Thus, then, without the restoration of her colonies, Holland must of necessity become a province of the French empire; for on accepting the crown of Holland, Prince Louis formally declared his intention of resigning it, if the Dutch colonies were not restored at the general peace."

The astonishment of the King, on reading this statement, may easily be imagined. He not only had never manifested any such *formal* intention at his accession, as the one alluded to in this note, but he knew nothing of it till these documents were published by the journals. So far from having any such in-

tention, he declared on his accession to the five Dutch deputies, "That he was forced to expatriate himself; that he was not possessed of great ambition, but that he was not insensible to the honour of commanding two millions of men; that he would make every effort to justify their confidence, and to fulfil the glorious destiny of being useful to so estimable a nation; that they might remain assured from the moment of his arrival on the frontiers he would become a Dutchman; and, above all, that whatever were the distresses and sufferings of the nation, he would place his happiness and glory in endeavouring to mitigate them, &c."

This declaration is certainly of a very different nature from that which was ascribed to him. He had already said to the Emperor on the day of his proclamation, "It is in becoming a Dutchman, in devoting myself above all to the interests and prosperity of my new country, that I shall endeavour to render myself worthy of your name, and prove that I have always been a good Frenchman."

But

But what a field for reflection was presented by this false assertion! And what a confirmation of his melancholy presentiments as to the object of his elevation, and of the ideas which he had derived from his conversation with general Dupont!—It might, indeed, be said, that this assertion was only advanced with a view to induce the English to conclude a peace; that it was merely a diplomatic artifice: but he could not help seeing in it an idea injurious to the stability of his government in the minds of his people, a leaven thrown out for the future, and a fresh proof of the justice of his fears, as to the secret intentions of the French government. For he then recollected the manner in which he was proclaimed on the 5th of June, the silence of his brother, the observation which fell from the minister Talleyrand, *that without Prince Louis he could not have succeeded with the Dutch, &c.* Every thing concurred to remove the veil completely from before his eyes; but six months had passed away, it was too late!

The

The Dutch beheld the return of the King with pleasure; for a military government, and chiefs who delight in war, are what they most dread. They were charmed with the new spectacle of the return to the country of the money, that had been transmitted from the national treasury to Wesel for the maintenance of the army, which having occupied an enemy's country, was entitled to be supported at its expense, and the King did not allow this opportunity of relief to escape. Whilst the King saw only with regret in this saving a very feeble relief for the state, the nation saw in it with joy the first proof of the good intentions of the King, and his devotion to the country.

The blockading system was devised at this time, which, with the increased warlike preparations that Holland was obliged to make, seemed to triple the imminent danger of that country in a financial point of view. However, he extricated himself even from this crisis, but with pain, and as it were with continual and incredible anguish.

This fatal measure threw the King into consternation;

consternation; he felt but too well, while it would complete the ruin of Holland, what a handle at the same time it would afford against it. Besides, this measure appeared to him as singular and revolutionary, as the new term of *denationalising*. How can we cease to belong to our country, to be what we are, to be ourselves? He ventured to write to the Emperor, that he believed this gigantic measure impossible, and calculated to effect the ruin of France, the continent, and more particularly all commercial countries like Holland, before it could ruin England!

However, he satisfied with promptitude the demand of France, but without declaring that the British isles were placed in a state of blockade by himself, the head of a small state, and particularly without professing the false principles of that act, that of denationalisation, &c. He persuaded himself that this violent measure could not be of long continuance; and he endeavoured, by regular dispositions,

dispositions, to accomplish the same object with France, but without professing a doctrine which did not appear to him to be just;—without assuming a tone which he conceived to be too imperious and too military. He ordered the decree of the Emperor to be published and executed in the province of East Friesland, which might still be considered as a conquest; but with respect to the rest of the kingdom, that it should only be carried into execution, if the measures already in force should not be found sufficient.—They were in fact sufficient; for this reason, that since the commencement of the maritime war, no opportunity had been neglected on the part of France of crushing the commerce of Holland, under the pretext of injuring that of England.

The preceding governments had never ceased, for several years, to add to the rigour of the restraints on commerce and navigation. It was of the most essential importance to them to obey France, their only support amidst

amidst their factions. The decree of the 1st of December excited the discontent of the Emperor, for no other reason, perhaps, than that it preserved an air of independence. It was necessary, however, that the acts of a different country should bear some distinguishing characteristic; but the French agents in Holland were rejoiced to find at length an opportunity for revenging themselves on account of the suppression of the illegal retributions.

It becomes necessary to examine here the different steps in this important measure of blockade, which was attended with such fatal consequences to the commerce of all nations, and which ruined so many respectable merchants; which gave to the war a character of harshness and vengeance, that it never before possessed; and which, in short, opened a career to immorality and avarice, the effects of which will be long felt.

On the reception of the decree of the 21st of November the King expressed the most heartfelt grief to his ministers. He was at first resolved

solved not to subscribe it. "In the blindness of passion," he said, "we may throw ourselves over a precipice, in order to drag our enemies after us; but how can a man, to whom the security and happiness of so many families are entrusted, allow himself to be persuaded by others to precipitate his own people into the abyss?" It was with great difficulty that his objections could be overcome: he yielded at length, but with the modifications which are about to be stated, and those which have been already alluded to.

Before, however, communicating the Dutch edict, it seems necessary and proper to insert also the Berlin decree of the 21st of November, 1806, which is as follows: "Having taken into our consideration, 1st, That England does not recognize the law of nations, observed by all civilized countries. 2dly, That she not only treats with hostility whatever belongs to the states with which she is at war, and, consequently, not only the crews of vessels of war, but also those of merchant ships, declaring even prisoners of war those clerks

and

and merchants who fall into her hands, when proceeding from one place to another by sea, in the course of their business. 3dly, That the right of conquest is applied by her to merchant vessels, and the property of individuals, while it ought to affect only the property of the hostile state. 4thly, That she applies the right of blockade not only to fortified places and commercial cities, but also to gulfs and mouths of rivers, whilst, according to the law of nations and the usages of civilized countries, it can only be applied to fortified places; that she declares a place to be in a state of blockade, when she has no vessel of war actually blockading it, whilst a place can only be considered in that state, when it is invested in such a manner that it can neither be entered or quitted without danger; that agreeably to the same order of things, no place can be declared in a state of blockade, which cannot be blockaded by any naval force; as, for instance, a whole coast, and a state in all its extent. 5thly, That to abuse the right of blockade for the sole purpose

pose of interrupting the communication between nations, and establishing English industry on the ruins of that of the people of the continent, is a thing unheard of. 6thly, That the object of England is to force all, who carry on commerce with her on the continent, to promote her views and become her accomplices. 7thly, That this conduct of England, worthy of the most barbarous ages, is only useful to herself, and is prejudicial to all other powers. 8thly, That it is a natural right, to turn the arms of an enemy against himself, and when he departs from all those liberal precepts, which are the result of the progress of intelligence, to lay them also aside against him.

"We have therefore resolved to oppose to England the maxims which she has adopted in her maritime code.

"The dispositions of the present decree shall be considered as one of the fundamental laws of the empire, till England shall allow, that the laws of war are the same by sea as by land; that they do not extend to the property

of

of individuals; that they are still less applicable to the persons of individuals who are not taken with arms in their hands; and also, that the right of blockade can only extend to places invested by a force sufficient to carry it into complete operation.

" We have decreed as follows:

" Art. I. The British islands are declared to be in a state of blockade.

" II. All commerce and all correspondence with the said islands are prohibited.

" III. Letters and packets directed to England, or to an Englishman, or written in English, shall be stopt at the post-offices.

" IV. Every English subject, of whatever rank and condition, found in our dominions, or in those of our allies, shall be made prisoner of war.

" V. All warehouses, or property belonging to English subjects, are declared lawful prize.

" VI. Trading in the goods of England is prohibited; and whatever proceeds from her manufactures or her colonies shall be declared lawful prize.

" VII.

"VII. Half the produce of the sums arising from the confiscation of these goods, shall be paid over to merchants whose vessels have been taken by English ships of war or privateers, by way of indemnification.

"VIII. Every vessel coming directly from England, or from her colonies, or which shall visit them after the known publication of our decree, shall not be entitled to enter any port.

"IX. Every vessel, which, by a false declaration, contravenes the present decree, shall be seized, and its cargo confiscated as English property.

"X. Our prize council at Paris is empowered to decide all disputes with respect to prizes, which, in virtue of the present decree, may be made both in our empire and in the countries occupied by our troops. Our high court of justice at Milan is empowered to decide all disputes, which may arise on this subject in our kingdom of Italy.

"XI. The present decree shall be communicated by our minister for foreign affairs, to the Kings of Spain, Holland, Naples, and Etruria,

Etruria, and to our other allies, whose subjects, as well as ours, are the victims of the injustice exercised by the English at sea."

That is to say, in other words, that the Kings of these four countries shall be obliged to obey the dispositions of this decree, which was as unjust as it was impolitic. The sincere and voluntary assent of these four governments might have been obtained, by respecting their self-love, by flattering them, by the observation of certain forms and attentions, much better than by treating them as vassals, and endeavouring to humiliate them. This conduct was either a commencement of universal empire, and in that case it was as improper a commencement, as the time for it was ill chosen; or the project of universal empire had no existence, and then it was a piece of false policy.

The first expression, *having deliberated*, is as incorrect as it is improper; we can only deliberate on existing facts.

We may observe, with regard to the different grounds: 1st, That the non-observance of

of the laws of nations by one party may be a reason for declaring war, but cannot authorise the imitation of that conduct; for to follow a bad example is in some measure to justify it. 2dly, Can the non-observance or violation of the law of nations justify a still greater violation? 3dly, The same observation is applicable to the third article. 4thly, As to the fourth, it seems to be a condemnation of the object of this decree; for a nation, whose vessels can proceed to a distance from its frontiers, even to the waters of the countries belonging to its enemies, is undoubtedly better entitled to say, that it blockades ports and coasts, than a nation without a navy to say, that it blockades an island surrounded by numerous fleets. In this last case it is the continental power which places itself in a state of blockade. 5thly, The fifth ground is not even a subject of complaint. All states are authorised to pursue their own interests exclusively, and it is the means resorted to alone which determines the character of their conduct. 6thly, If England can succeed in this,

this, she is not to blame; the evil only consists, as has been already said, in the means employed. 7thly, A power has no right to speak and complain for others; and with respect to Holland, the English measures injured her less than those adopted in France. 8thly, As to the eighth, it appears, as was observed with regard to the first, that this principle is false; wrong cannot authorise wrong, nor injustice authorise injustice.

Let us now examine the articles of the decree.

The first falls to the ground of itself; for an island cannot be placed in a state of blockade, without our possessing a sufficient number of vessels to prevent the inhabitants of that island from leaving it. To prevent our own subjects from going abroad, is to blockade ourselves. And besides, a perfect blockade, though mathematically possible, is impossible in practice, as facts have demonstrated. Even if one human power were able to reduce every country to subjection, how could it be certain with regard to the

numberless crowds of subordinate authorities, necessary to the execution of such a measure; and by what means could it exercise a perfect and never-ceasing superintendence? The defects of this system are the defects possessed by all absolute things, which are not of this world. A deficiency in a very small number of places is quite sufficient to prevent the accomplishment of the object proposed, and also to render the measure injurious in the extreme to that commerce, which it was intended to protect.

The 2d article prohibits all commerce. Be it so, since it was consistent with the pretended object,—but why interdict all correspondence, which was as cruel as it was injurious, and proclaimed the infatuation and passion which dictated so extravagant a measure?

The 3d article seems inconceivable, and in no manner conducive to the purpose of the blockade. Why prohibit the use of the English language, as if it had been a commodity.

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The revolting nature of the 4th and 5th articles ought to preclude all observation on them. What, because the English seize clerks bound from one place to another; because they subject the vessels of individuals to ill treatment; shall we dare, in the age in which we live, to seize every Englishman, and whatever property of the English we can lay hold of!!! This certainly was not making good the injury caused by the English government; but augmenting, and thereby justifying it.

The 6th article is barbarous. Here, by a single stroke of the pen, the property of all Frenchmen, who, up to that period, had carried on a trade in English goods, was taken from them.

The 8th article is still worse; for by it every vessel coming from England is refused admission into any port. The ships thrown on the coast by tempests ought not, on that principle, to have received any assistance.

Enough has been said to justify the extreme repugnance, which the King enter-

tained for this decree. Obliged, however, to lend himself to these measures, under the penalty of a complete rupture with France, he wished to do so in the least illegal, and the most independent, manner possible; not so much from vanity, or a feeling of propriety, or of what was due to an independent country like Holland, as from the two following considerations: 1st, because he did not wish to profess principles which he did not entertain, and which appeared to him unjust and antisocial; 2d, because he wished to leave himself at liberty to put an end to these harsh measures, as soon as he should be convinced, that they had failed of their effect in France, were tacitly renounced, and the impossibility of their execution recognized. He was persuaded, and experience proved only too soon how well founded was his persuasion, that even when France should have renounced the chimerical object of the blockade, under this pretext, that is to say, under that of acting against the common enemy, the continental

tinental system would be made use of to favour the commerce of France, to the detriment of the less powerful allies, who would not be allowed to depart from the French regulations, if they adopted them literally; while the French government, under-hand, might relax as much as it chose in the rigour of the blockade, towards its own merchants. Hence the King of Holland did not absolutely wish to adopt, and, indeed, could not adopt, literally the measures passed in France; but, on the 1st of December, he issued the following decree:

"Art. I. The decree of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, of the 21st of November, shall be executed in all its parts in the countries occupied by our troops; viz. in *East Friesland*, the countries of *Oldenburg*, *Delmenhorst*, *Jever*, *Kniphausen*, and *Varel*.

"II. *The decree shall be executed in the whole extent of the kingdom, if the measures already adopted shall not be sufficient to carry into*

into effect the general blockade of the country of the enemy.

"III. The goods and other property seized in virtue of the application of the imperial decree, in the countries named in article I., shall be sold for the benefit of the public treasury."

"IV. The minister of the finances shall give his agents the necessary instructions for the execution of the present decree. Those instructions shall be presented to us for our approbation with the shortest possible delay."

At first sight, this decree seems to elude the blockade, as it gives force to that of the Emperor only in the conquered countries of East Friesland and Varel, whilst in the kingdom he added nothing to the measures already existing respecting this subject: but all possible means were adopted, not merely to follow exactly the stipulations of the French decree, but also to go beyond them, in order not to afford even the slightest pretext for a misunderstanding,

misunderstanding, and not to give France an opportunity for carrying into execution the secret projects, which she was believed to entertain with respect to Holland. However, he wished only to adopt these measures by means of instructions given by the minister of the finances to his agents, that he might have the power of changing and modifying them, without producing any sensation in other countries, and especially in France. From the great extent of the coast of Holland, vessels no doubt frequently deceived the vigilance of the custom-house officers and the police, and some contraband dealings consequently took place: but how was it possible to prevent hermetically all communication by sea, when Holland was deprived of all its troops? when the whole coast was invested, as it were, by a multitude of vessels of the enemy, who purchased at a high price the smallest negligence or complaisance on the part of the guards and agents? How particularly was it possible to prevent it, when the French agents were interested in the contra-

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band trade, and, to conceal their traffic, openly complained in France of infractions, which they secretly encouraged?

It is impossible to communicate the instructions, with regard to this object, given to the agents of the customs and police, as this work is composed in a great measure from recollection, without the assistance of all the documents and necessary papers; but it may be sufficient to say, that these instructions, and the interior arrangements relative to the blockade, were not only communicated to the French agents, but were drawn up in concert with them: they were renewed, modified, and reinforced, according to their will and pleasure, on the first demand made by them for that purpose. It may, therefore, be safely said, that no country, not excepting even France, followed up the blockade system with so much rigour; and it suffered much more than any other country from the measure. Some contraband trade undoubtedly took place; but much less than in France, and every where else, notwithstanding

standing the geographical position of Holland, the extent of its coasts, the absence of the greater part of its troops, and the habits of the people.

But with whatever sincerity the measures were adopted; however just the complaints of the country; however incontestable the efficaciousness of the measures in point of vigour, the King became, nevertheless, the subject of incessant accusations; because the inutility of this famous blockade, for advancing the success of the secret designs on the kingdom, was soon perceived. On the discovery of the smallest contraband dealings, the smallest artifice, the cry of shame and treachery was immediately raised.

In vain the King protested against the injustice of these accusations; in vain he endeavoured to demonstrate the impossibility of closing hermetically all access to so extensive a coast. Indignant, at length, on account of so much injustice, and such endless bickerings, in answer to a repetition of these

unjust

unjust complaints, he said: *You had better endeavour to prevent the skin from perspiring!*

Happy at finding in the country a weak side, in a two-fold sense, from the inquiry to which they subjected it, and from that which this state of things caused to the government in the mind of the nation, they took care not to abandon so valuable a point of attack. The greater were the efforts of the government to give satisfaction, the less was its success. He formed the resolution of continuing to do what he conceived he was bound to do, without troubling himself with the *barkings*, which no care or diligence could silence.

However, when they became aware in France of the system adopted by the Dutch government on this subject, they insisted, that he should make use of the strict terms of the Berlin decree, from the very same reason which induced him to decline doing so; but all their efforts were unavailing. As the recriminations and complaints were renewed with still more heat on the 15th of December, he adopted the resolution of shutting

ting the ports of the kingdom to all ships, without exception. By this means he hoped, that, having deprived calumny of every pretext, he should reduce it to silence.

He refused at this period to sequestrate the property of the English in Holland. He refused also to sequestrate the interest due to the Prince of Orange on his public stock. He ordered this stock to be deposited in the sinking fund, with orders not to cancel it, and to add the interest to it every year.

He would not accept a regiment of Hessians, which was offered him, but he enlisted a great number of prisoners of war. It is certain, that, in the winter of 1806—7, the Dutch army exceeded 50,000 effective men; a prodigious army, when what has already been said as to the situation of the country is borne in mind.

The Emperor Napoleon manifested a new dissatisfaction in his private letters, the cause of which the King was unable to conjecture. He had been made acquainted with the proceedings

ceedings relative to the blockade, and, in his answers, appeared perfectly satisfied with them. Nothing new had taken place in the country. The Emperor, however, threatened Holland with domiciliary visits. The French agents, by their calumnies, and their exaggerations as to some contraband operations, which it was impossible wholly to prevent in a maritime country, supplied food to the discontent of the Emperor, on account of the failure of his gigantic object of blockading, without vessels, an island, the mistress of the ocean.

However this may be, the situation of Holland, which had been imminently dangerous for several years, became still more so, from the prolongation of the war and the barbarous measure of the blockade. The increasing error of the French government rendered that situation irremediable. Holland found herself duped in the great warlike preparations she had been forced to make, on a promise of ample indemnification, which, from

from the successive dissensions between the two countries, there was now no reason to hope for.

Hogendorp was named minister of war. He was a man of talent, and prodigiously active; but he was impetuous, and little disposed to economy—his principles too were extravagant. He had been governor of a settlement at Java, where he displayed considerable courage as an officer. The rank of civil governor giving also that of lieutenant-general, or general of division, he reserved this rank on entering into the ministry.

To follow the example of other countries in alliance with France, Holland then sent to the head-quarters of the Emperor a deputation, to compliment him on his success. This deputation was composed of the following persons:

Count Bylandt Halt, who had returned from Berlin (the Emperor being already beyond that place); Goldberg, counsellor of state; van Styrum, minister of their High Mightinesses, and Bangeman Huygens,

gens, minister of the late government at Copenhagen.

Bylandt Halt was firm, enlightened, and perfectly honourable; he was a worthy man, the friend of his country, and one of the richest men in it. He was a retired rear-admiral, and distinguished himself in a glorious combat, in which he captured the enemy's ship.

The other deputies are known, with the exception of the last, a young diplomatist, whose appearance and manners were pleasing, and who was able and well informed.

The King wrote to his brother, by the deputation, that the suppression of all commerce and all navigation, which was merely a great loss for France, was in Holland the same thing as depriving it of its soil for the benefit of another country: that the country was not merely small, but partly artificial; by which means, expensive dikes, raised on foundations of gold, as it were, became necessary: that the country was not only very expensive to keep up, and of very small extent,

extent, but covered also in great part with marshes or lakes, and heaths, or uncultivated sands: that, consequently, it became indispensably necessary, that the people should gain on the ocean by their industry, not so much wherewithal to enrich themselves, as in the first place the means of supporting and securing their soil, and, in the next, the means of providing for their subsistence, which they could not derive from their soil in sufficient abundance: that, therefore, navigation, and the assistance of foreign lands, were almost as essential to them as the air they breathe: that it was universally maintained in France, as well as in Holland, at the period of his accession, that the country could not subsist for three months; that he had, nevertheless, contrived to pass a whole year, to arm 50,000 men, to maintain twelve ships of the line; and all this for the interest of France alone, and to satisfy the desires of the Emperor: that the Emperor, by the constitutional act, promised an advantageous treaty of commerce: that this

was

was not only now refused, but the inhabitants were even forced to reprisals, to a sort of petty war on the frontiers, by the incursions and vexatious attempts of the officers of the customs: and he concluded with supplicating his brother to aid him, as he was his own work, to protect a country, from which he could never fail to derive the assistance he wanted, were his brother established and consolidated in it, &c. &c.

The Emperor of the French received the deputies with menaces, complaints, and violent invectives against Holland, and against the King, who could not but be astonished at this result, this recompense for all the exertions of Holland and himself for six months.

He asscertained that, while all his endeavours were directed to the union of all parties, the consolidation of his government, the advancement of the prosperity of the people, the relief of the country, do what he would, he could not possibly avoid coming into collision with the policy of the day; the object

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of which was to prevent the consolidation of Holland, to harass and impoverish it, to drive it to despair, so as at last to reduce it to the necessity of falling into the arms of France. When the particular position of the King is considered, the deep distress which this conviction caused to him may easily be conceived.

He did not cease, however, to devote his care and attention to the arrangement and establishment of all the institutions necessary to his government. He sought after and adopted prompt and infallible measures for the speedily obtaining a uniform civil and criminal code. He confided this object to renowned civilians, who devoted their labours to it in silence, and whose projects were to be twice discussed afterwards in the council of state and the Legislative Body.

The object which demanded the most immediate attention was the completion of the new system of taxation.

Two leading subjects remained to be re-

gulated on this business: the land tax, and rules as to corporations and jurisdictions.

The corporations and jurisdictions were altogether at variance with the new plan of finance, founded on the general uniformity of the contributions in the whole country, and the abolition of all sorts of privileges.

The land tax was very much disliked by the landholders of the agricultural provinces, especially the nobility, who formerly found a thousand means of throwing part of the burdens from their own shoulders to those of their *ouderdaanen*, or vassals, whom they called subjects.

By the new and uniform system of taxation, it is true, the landholders of the agricultural provinces were more burdened than those of the maritime provinces, because they were obliged to pay nearly the fourth part of the revenue of the land; without including another annual contribution, which was perpetually renewed, called a personal contribution, and amounting to the tenth of their whole

whole income; whilst they were besides bound and subject to the same indirect contributions, as the inhabitants of the coast and maritime towns.

This great argument of the landholders was, however, by no means well founded: for if the merchants and other inhabitants of the maritime towns were slightly, if at all, affected by the direct taxes; the others, again, were not subject to several indirect taxes, very severely felt by merchants. The King perceived, that, in this burdensome system, which bore very heavy on all the inhabitants, more especially from the circumstances of the war, every thing would be sufficiently compensated, at least more so than by any other systems, if it were carried mildly and impartially into execution. But, however burdensome it was, it became, from what we have seen, the only plank of safety for the country.

Being, therefore, desirous of convincing those who were interested in the two parties,

of this truth, he availed himself, for the first time, on this occasion, of the great number of extraordinary counsellors of state, whom he had appointed, for the purpose of meeting in full assembly with the ordinary counsellors of state, when summoned, that the government might learn from them the sentiments and wishes of the nation; and that they might enlighten the nation in turn; and disclose to it the views and secret thoughts of the government, for the general welfare. They formed a sort of high chamber, or meeting of states general, not vested with supreme power.

But he first reduced the duties on the grinding of rye, and on flour, one half; in order to assist the poorest classes of the Dutch, and render the new finance laws less severely felt by them. The great assembly took place in the palace of the Hague, on the 4th of December. The King delivered the following speech.

" Gentlemen;

"Gentlemen; I have need of your opinion on two important questions, the project of a law relative to the mode of levying the territorial tax, and that which relates to corporations and jurisdictions. We shall now enter on the first of these objects. I long for the day when it shall be in my power to diminish the enormous burden of the taxes, and the situation of this kingdom shall at length permit me to proportion the expenses to the revenues, and to regulate the latter on a principle less oppressive to individuals. But to attain this object, to which my thoughts and efforts have been constantly directed; to enable us to reach an epoch, to which the events of the war will soon perhaps conduct us; the system of imposition must be general and uniform, every thing like local spirit, and particular interest, must disappear, and be swallowed up in the common interest.

"Foreseeing, that it would perhaps be difficult to point out to me another mode of land tax, capable of adaptation to the general system that I found established, which should not

not be subject to still greater inconveniences, I have endeavoured to meliorate it, in the first place, by diminishing the duty on the grinding of rye, one half; a diminution, which will be proposed in a few days to the Legislative Body. By means of this change, and those which you will perceive in the new arrangements, I conceive the project will be found adapted to our situation. I shall now open the discussion with respect to the different articles of this project.

"No imposition can be devised, which does not weigh on the whole nation; and which is not frequently still more injurious to a small number, from the difficulty of completely preventing inequalities; especially when the necessities of the state are urgent. You will render me a great service; you will render a great service to your fellow-citizens; if you can point out any modifications of which this project is susceptible, which, without diminishing the produce of the duty, shall free it from the greatest, and perhaps the only, inconvenience possessed by it—

that

that of producing a change in the real value of certain species of property.

"In delivering the reasons for your opinions, in submitting to me your propositions, remember, gentlemen, that by overturning the basis of the general system of taxation, you will overturn the whole edifice; and that, consequently, it is not as to the tax itself that I demand your opinions, but as to the modifications of which the different articles may appear to you susceptible."

The assembly fulfilled the object in question. The project was warmly discussed; but being unable to touch its foundation, all the modifications were adopted, which had the effect of introducing just and useful alleviations into the measure, such as the minister of the finances, its author, blinded by the spirit of party, would never have conceived possible.

Deputations from the principal towns were also summoned to take part in the discussions respecting the jurisdictions and corporations. The question was examined, both

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in principle and detail; but when the parties came together, their debates were so violent, that the King felt himself at a loss how to act, not being sufficiently acquainted with the situation of the country. Besides, he had determined to respect the privileges of towns and individuals as much as possible, that is to say, wherever he should find them not altogether at variance with the existence and general prosperity of the country.

To terminate this grand question, he appointed a commission for each party; and he instructed them to hear the deputies of the jurisdictions more in detail, and examine, whether means might not be devised for allowing them to subsist, till time should determine their inutility, or their absolute incompatibility, with the new financial laws. These commissions were to propose the changes to be made generally, and the precautions necessary to prevent them from impeding the collection of the taxes.

This was effected by the two commissions, and afterwards approved of by the King,

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and converted into a law by the Legislative Body.

The discussion and examination of the project of a uniform criminal code, founded on the Roman law, was entered on this year.

The leading principles were discussed. The punishment of death, and unanimity of suffrage, were retained; confiscations, torture, and the nullity of every other tribunal, but that recognized by the constitution and the fundamental laws of the state, were adopted. The framers, at the head of whom was Mr. Reuwens, a man of merit, very much attached to the most liberal ideas, then demanded a year to complete the task of digesting this work.

The Legislative Body was assembled. In the constitution it is called alternately by that name, and by that of *their High Mightinesses.* The King had at first no reluctance to give it this last title; but after his return from Germany, he soon perceived, that in the constitution drawn up without any consultation with him, they had, for very good reasons, left the

the Legislative Body in a state of uncertainty, though he could not at the time conceive why this double denomination was retained. In December, 1806, he found out the object, which this was intended to serve; and he endeavoured to destroy, in its first beginnings, a source of discussions, misunderstandings, and false pretensions, which might lead to consequences of so very serious a nature. He expressed himself frankly on this subject to the members of the Legislative Body, and made them sensible of the serious inconveniences of this leaven of divisions. What made this denomination the more absurd was, that if it were allowed to remain, the legislative assembly would have been in reality the sovereign, &c. &c. They felt the truth of this; and having deliberated on the subject, they came to the resolution, that their assembly should confine themselves thereafter to the title of Legislative Body.

In that, as in many other things, the King felt with pleasure what a powerful hold of the nation he had in the good sense, the love of

justice

justice and reason, which are more characteristic of the Dutch than of any other people. They are fond of truth and equity in all propositions which are submitted to them; they wish to be put in possession of the case frankly and without reserve, and if the course proposed be the best, that is to say, the most just and reasonable, nothing is to be feared: they will discuss, delay, and deliberate, but they will at last consent, though with great pain, should the interests of individuals be affected by it.

He formed the resolution of laying an account every year before the nation, in a message to the Legislative Body, of all that was done in the course of the year, and all that remained to be done. Foreseeing, that his position would grow worse and worse, that he should have much to suffer, and that it would be difficult for him to support the load of public affairs, amidst so many embarrassments and enemies, he felt the necessity of going hand in hand with public opinion, or rather to abandon his particular opinions, and to suspend his projects for the prosperity of the

the country, if they were not agreeable to the nation, in order to gain its confidence and attachment; being assured that he would soon regain his lost time, if he could communicate these sentiments to the nation, and should succeed in making it one day acquainted with its true interests, and the manner in which it ought to seek its happiness.

The following is the first account which he submitted to the nation at the close of 1806, in an address to the Legislative Body.

"*December* 1.

"Gentlemen, you are about to commence your annual session. Before speaking to you of the objects which shall be submitted to your deliberation, we shall lay before you an account of the situation of the country since the month of July.

"The conviction, that repose is the first want of our people, the sense of our duties towards them, and the sentiments of justice and benevolence which ought to form, and will always form, the basis of our conduct, have

have inspired us with an ardent desire to obtain this peace, of which the want is so urgently felt.

"Since our accession, we have never ceased manifesting these sentiments on all occasions, and particularly in giving instant satisfaction to the *chargés d'affaires* of the two great powers (Austria and Prussia), which some journalists had spoken of in an unbecoming and even in a disrespectful manner. Shortly afterwards warlike preparations took place not far from our frontiers, but to this we paid little attention, seeing the tranquil and pacific attitude of our powerful ally; but as soon as, in conformity with treaties of alliance, we were called on to place our troops under arms, we did so with all possible activity, and we did not lose an instant in preparing the means of defence, and answering the threats of a neighbour, to whom Holland had given no cause of complaint.

"You were then, gentlemen, assembled extraordinarily. You may remember, that at that very period we did not believe the war certain;

certain; we still hoped that it would not break out. However, scarcely had we reached the frontiers, when the war was declared. Our *chargé d'affaires* received passports, and an order to take his departure on the 8th of October. We answered this declaration by giving passports to the *chargé d'affaires* of his Prussian Majesty at the Hague. This war, as you know, was so prompt, that the declaration, hostilities, and, perhaps, its termination will be the work of a few months. We told you, on the 29th of September, that war, when it is legitimate, inspires a people with confidence, and this confidence we immediately felt. Our confidence was not deceived, and the unheard of successes of our august brother, and their rapidity, leave us small ground to lament the blood which has been shed. We may hope, from the results of the war, just advantages for our subjects, compensations for the numerous losses, the accumulated evils, which we have suffered. In communicating to you the declaration of war with Prussia, we communicate to you at the same

same time the cessation of hostilities, in consequence of the armistice signed at Charlottenburg, on the 16th of November. That day, when we shall be enabled to announce a general peace, the repose of the whole world, and the return to equitable sentiments of those who, by their ambition and their caprices, are the authors of the evils of every description, which have so long afflicted Europe, will be to us a happy day.

"Our troops are united with the grand army, and will follow its glorious destiny: their position, and the rapidity of this war, have not allowed them to take any great part in the military operations; but on all occasions, when they encountered the enemy, they proved, that they are worthy of sustaining the honour and glory of their country. To them the two strong places which Prussia still preserved in Germany were surrendered. The combined army occupied Westphalia, and the whole of the country on this side of the Weser. East Friesland is now occupied by our troops and in our name. We have

continued

continued it in the enjoyment of the privileges which it previously possessed, and we hope that its commercial connection, the conformity of manners, and interests with the rest of the kingdom, will indemnify that province, and more especially the town of Emden, for the heavy losses caused by the late events.

"There late events, gentlemen, are glorious; they ought to inspire us with just confidence; they will lead to a solid and honourable peace. Let us hope, that the wishes of wise and dispassionate men will at length be fulfilled. Then treaties will no longer be truces, of which the enemies of the continent avail themselves, to complete the ruin of their victims. Then we shall arrive at such an order of things, that the political balance of Europe will be secured, and all nations, bestowing less activity and care in keeping up formidable armies, will be more occupied in securing the repose of nations, and the happiness of individuals. However, we must not conceal from ourselves, that independently of

of the enormous charges, which add so much to the temporary distress of our subjects, the suppression of all neutral flags, and especially the measures of general blockade, have annihilated the last resources of commerce. But we must continue to suffer, in expectation of better times. We hope for a speedy improvement in our situation; at all events, our efforts shall always be directed towards that object, so long as we shall not be altogether abandoned by hope.

"So much for our political situation. It remains for me to advert to the different branches of the public administration, and the improvements of which they are susceptible.

"We shall begin with our laws. They are still far from possessing the uniformity which is desirable. A criminal code is already drawn up, and the discussion of it will commence, as soon as the affairs of the budget and various important laws, which are necessary to complete the general system of taxation, shall be gone through. Enlightened men in various parts of the kingdom are silently busied in

drawing up a civil code; but this long and difficult work cannot be hastily completed. When completed, a code of judicial proceedings will be undertaken shortly after.

"Draughts of laws respecting the general administration of the departments and of towns, will be presented to your consideration in the course of this session. The spirit peculiar to each province or town impedes the progress of business. On examining attentively the real situation of the state, one is justly astonished, that it has been able so long to make head against revolutions, and the war and misfortunes which follow in their train. Administrations which do not consider, above all things, the general interest of their country, but that of a particular province or town, and frequently their own private interests, and which succeed each other without intermission, cannot have the force, the perseverance, and impartiality, which are as necessary to the execution of the laws, as to the framing of them. Hence, several matters of importance have been affected by this state of things, and

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in a country in which the sciences flourish, one cannot help being astonished, that their application to the arts and mechanical industry has been so much neglected. Perhaps this is one of the causes of the decline of so great a number of trades and manufactures.

"It is impossible to be insensible to the dangers to which inundations and floods of ice expose the country almost every year; but these dangers may be very much diminished, and perhaps annihilated. Nothing, however, has been undertaken for a great and general physical melioration, which becomes the more indispensibly necessary, as the beds of the rivers, which are continually rising, and the extensive working of low turf grounds, augment every day the dangers of the country. It is absolutely necessary, that great works worthy of the nation whose existence they will secure, and worthy of the importance of the subject, should be commenced as soon as possible. And should it even be proposed, to turn the Leck into the Yssel, and to enlarge, in consequence, the bed of that

river, to cut canals of reserve in Brabant, and other countries, to drain the lake of Haarlem, and those in the vicinity of Rotterdam; why should these operations be considered impossible for a people, for a nation who have set bounds to the ocean, and forcibly taken possession of its bed?

"The administrative laws are not the only laws which require revision. We have several times solicited the execution of the last treaty, and we hope that we shall one day succeed in establishing commercial relations with France, advantageous to both nations.

"Such of our colonies as we have preserved are still in a good condition. According to the last accounts from Java, the measures adopted by the government of Batavia have been attended with success; cultivation is improving, and the best understanding prevails between our colonists, and the princes and people of Java. The plantations of Banda are in a prosperous state; the harvests of 1805 have entered the magazines of Batavia.

"According to the latest accounts, the islands

islands of Amboina and Ternate, and the settlements on the islands of Celebes and Borneo, were in the best situation. Curaçoa is in a state of defence; the latest reports from that island, from the neighbouring settlements, and the coast of Guinea, are consolatory. With respect to the colonies occupied by the enemy, we have no accounts from Ceylon, from the Coromandel coast, from Cochin, or from Surat. We learn from Malacca, that the English intend to abandon that settlement after having ruined it. On the 8th of January, of this year, the enemy took possession of the Cape of Good Hope. This post was attacked by considerable force; the troops to whom its defence was entrusted did not conduct themselves equally well; but the governor did his duty.

"From this state of things, gentlemen, it follows, that we ought to make the greatest efforts to keep up our forces by land and sea to their present amount; nay, we must even augment them as much as we possibly can. In the same manner, all the branches of administration,

ministration, and those of war and the marine, more particularly require institutions capable of giving them the consideration and the lustre which they formerly possessed, and which they may easily regain. These two departments may attain this object, and become meliorated by means of the war itself. As to the other branches, all our efforts will be directed to their restoration; but we cannot flatter ourselves with any great change till the conclusion of a maritime peace. Then, gentlemen, every thing will assume a new appearance; then we may hope for compensations, for reparations, for relief from so many evils.

"Holland has every year been on the point of losing her political and physical existence; but the admirable perseverance of her courageous inhabitants, in remedying almost daily the havoc caused by the elements, as well as the disasters resulting from public events, have prolonged the existence of the country: but we cannot conceal from ourselves, that it will never emerge from this critical state, till we shall have the means of

adopting

adopting a grand system of improvement, and shall be enabled to undertake and continue it with calmness and perseverance. Though far from this happy epoch, it is with a view to it, nevertheless, that several draughts of laws will be submitted to your consideration. You will remark, among other things, after the budget, laws relative to the finances, and the project of a law, creating a grand order of Union, and an order of Merit.

"It is essential, gentlemen, that every thing like spirit of party, provincial spirit, or the spirit of particular towns, should cease; that public spirit should revive; that we should be proud of being Dutchmen, and remember that the public safety is entirely confided to us. Let the good people of Holland be convinced, that *as long as we shall be at the post where Divine Providence has placed us*, neither a bad state of health, nor any other consideration, shall prevent us from watching constantly over their interests and their

their safety, *as long as we shall have it in our power to do so.*"

On the 7th of December the King instituted the grand officers of the kingdom, marshals and colonels general, &c. in imitation of what had taken place in France. On the 11th he proposed to the Legislative Body a law, creating the order of Union and the order of Merit, with an endowment of 60,000 florins a year.

At this period, the Spanish minister, chevalier d'Anduaga, a worthy, mild, conciliatory, and enlightened man, presented his credentials to the King of Holland. Portugal acknowledged him immediately afterwards, and the chevalier Bezerra, minister of the Prince Regent, was presented to him, in the character of minister, at the same time with the Count von Loïvendal, minister of Denmark. Prussia and Austria had not yet made any answer; but the latter had a *chargé d'affaires*, and announced the intention of sending a minister.

The

The triumphant French army was now in Poland, and every thing seemed to announce the re-establishment of that ancient kingdom. The French had settled at Warsaw an administration of government, which included the illustrious general Prince Joseph Poniatowsky.

The Elector of Saxony, after the peace signed with France at Posen on the 11th of December, had taken the title of King, and entered into the Confederation of the Rhine, formed several months before. This confederation not only withdrew the states of Germany from the power and influence of Austria and Prussia, but also placed them under the immediate influence of France.

Marshal Massena had been summoned from Naples to Poland.

Prince Jerome Napoleon commanded the Wurtemberg troops in Silesia, and prosecuted with great spirit the siege of the strong places of that country. He had just taken Breslaw.

The Dutch corps, under the command of General Dumonceau, occupied Hamburg and the

the Hanse Towns: it formed a part of the grand army, and was under the French marshal Brune.

Schill, the Prussian partizan officer, took marshal Victor prisoner, on his way to join his corps.

The Prince Primate had been installed as Grand Duke of Frankfort.

SUPPLEMENT.

No. 1.

THE History of the Sacking of Rome in the 16th century was written by Jacopo Buonaparte, a Tuscan gentleman. Copies of it are still to be found. The following is an extract from the preface of that which we now have before us.*

"The family of the Buonapartes of S. Miniato al Tedesco, is one of the most distinguished, not merely of that town, but also of all Tuscany. This appears from the circumstance, that when S. Miniato was a republic, this was one of the families which was

* "*Al Legitore.*

"La famiglia dei Buonaparte, della città di S. Miniato al Tedesco, è una delle più conspicue, non solo in detto luogo, ma eziandio della Toscana. Questa verità si ritrae dal vedere, che la famiglia sudetta, in quel tempo che S. Miniato si reggeva in forma di republica, fu una di quelle, che

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was always in possession of the highest offices. It was reckoned among the noblest and most powerful, and according to the accounts of historians, it was so considered in the wars with the Florentines. All those who are versed in our history and our archives know, that in Florence it enjoyed the highest honours, and was deemed one of the principal families of that city; so that no other proof of its consequence is necessary.

"In the private archives of this illustrious family, I discovered the autograph manuscript of the very interesting history with which I here present you. Jacopo, the author of this history, lived at the court of Rome at the time of

vi godevano sempre i posti supremi, e fu tra le case grandi e magnati; e come tale ancora nell'occasioni delle guerre coi Fiorentini: ce la dimostrano gli storici; dicendo di più, che anco nella città medesima di Firenze godè i primi onori, e fu considerata come una delle famiglie magnatizie Fiorentine: lo che ai pratici delle nostre storie, e de' nostri archivi costa per indubitato, senza necessità di dimostrazioni e di prove.

"Dall' archivio privato di questa illustre famiglia, mi è riuscito di avere l'autografo della storia interessantissima, che

of the sacking of that city; that is to say, in 1527. I ascertained, from other unpublished works of his, of much taste and erudition, that he was a very learned gentleman, and well informed as to the affairs of the world. This family has always produced individuals distinguished in literature, as may be seen in the History of the University of Pisa by the celebrated Professor Stephano Fabrucci, printed in the Calogerani Collections.* Great praises are there bestowed on Nicolo Buonaparte (who first introduced the study of jurisprudence into the university of Pisa, according to Chieso in his interpretations), and various

che io qui vi presento venendo anco assicurato, che Jacopo, autore della medesima, viveva al tempo del sacco, cioè nel 1527, e dimorava nella corte di Roma, e da altre di lui opere inedite di sommo gusto, ed erudizione, io sono fatto certo che egli era un gentiluomo assai dotto, ed informato assai delle cose del mondo. Di fatto in questa famiglia furono sempre soggetti insigni per letteratura; e può aversene notizia nell' Istorie dello Studio Pisano del celebre professore Sig. Stefano Fabrucci, impressa nei tomi Calogerani, dove si ramentano con somma lode Nicolò Bonaparte, (primo introduttore della giurisprudenza culta nello

various other literary men of note of that family, who flourished at various times.

"We must not omit the following sepulchral inscription, on a magnificent tablet of marble, in the church of S. Francesco di S. Miniato:

"*Clarissimo suae ætatis et patriæ viro Joanni, Jacobi, Muccii de Bonaparte qui obiit anno MCCCCXXXXI die XXV Septembris. Nicolaus de Bonaparte apostolicae camerae clericus fecit genitori benemerenti et posteris.*"

From this monument we also learn how much Nicolo Buonaparte and other illustrious prelates,

nello studio di Pisa, al riferire del Chieso nelle sue interpretazioni) e altri varii litterati di grido, che fiorirono in diversi tempi di una tal casa.

"Non si vuol tralasciare la seguente iscrizione sepolcrale scolpita sopra un magnifico lastrone di marmo, che si osserva nella chiesa di S. Francesco di S. Miniato.

"*Clarissimo suæ ætatis et patriæ viro Joanni Jacobi Mucij de Bonaparte, qui obiit anno MCCCCXXXXI. die XXV Septembris. Nicolaus de Bonaparte, apostolicæ cameræ clericus, fecit genitori benè merenti et posteris.*

"Da questo mónumento si raccoglie ancora quanto in Roma si distinguesserò ed il nominato Nicolò Bonaparte, ed altri illustri

prelates, and also our writer, were distinguished in Rome. Besides filling various offices and dignities, they enjoyed the honour of being dear and intimate friends of the Orsini family; with whom the writer of this minute account of the sacking of Rome lived, as we have been told. He judiciously notices and particularises every circumstance, day by day, which has been done by no other writer with

illustri prelati, ed il nostro scrittore ancora, i quali godevano oltre a varie cariche, e dignità, l'onore d'essere affezionatissimi amici, ed intrinseci della famiglia degli Orsini, presso dei quali ci viene detto, che stasse Jacopo scrittore di questo minutissimo storico ragguaglio del sacco di Roma, che sì giudiziosamente individua, e rileva ogni circonstanza giorno per giorno, il che da niun altro scrittore è stato fatto con tanta diligenza, prudenza, circospezione, e veracità, e quel che è più senza soverchia esagerazione, maldicenza, e livore. Tutte queste circostanze la rendono molto pregievole, e ce la fanno passare per vera, e molto più che combina nella sostanza con le storie di quei tempi che abbiamo alla luce. Oltre di ciò qual stima non merita per essere di uno trovatosi presente al sacco, e di un uomo tale; ci si aggiunga da doversi considerare, che quel memorabilissimo fatto è stato bensì descritto da molti, ma la maggior parte erano da Roma lontani, o scrissero assai dopo, e mescolano

la

with so much prudence, circumspection, and truth, and what is still more important, without exaggeration, slander, or envy, &c. &c.

There

la loro narrativa con altre cose affatto diseparate. Livio Gregorio Geraldi nella prefazione alli Ecatommiti fa una lunga e patetica descrizione di quel funestissimo avenimento. Per altro non è che una declamazione, senza accennare li successi giorno per giorno seguiti, nè le persone di quelli che operarono, o come attori, o come pazienti in quella miserabile e luttuosa catastrofe. Il Guicciardini anch'egli ne ragiona, ma non è commendabile, nè per l'esatezza nè per la precisione. Benvenuto Cellini si stende molto nella sua vita sopra una tale istoria lugubre; ma egli vi mescola molti tratti di bravura che sono incredibili (come di avere egli ucciso Borbone) ed oltre a ciò egli che era in castel S. Angelo, nè tutto vide nè tutto racconta.

" Altrimente come il Paninio, il Gionio, il Giacconio, l'Oldonino, scrivono o troppo sommariamente, o spezzatamente, con niun ordine, anzi con molta confusione. In somma (per restringersi in breve) molti generalmente sono per la troppa passione se non intieramente falsi almeno in molte parti sospetti; dove che dal nostro scrittore, senza far torto alla verità, si rispettano i supremi capi della Chiesa, e dell' Imperio; e se talvolta si rimonta fino a loro nell' origine dei disordini, non si confondono le imprudenze dell'arte del regnare, o le vedute politiche coi vizi privati della persona o col livore dell' istorico. In fine il Buonaparte fa una giudiciosa premessa alla sua istoria col racconto delle ragioni, motivi, e delli antecedenti

che

There were members of this family settled at Sarsana, in the state of Genoa. The nephew of Pope Nicholas V., who was of that country,

che vi influirono con dipingere lo stato dell' Europa di allora, e gli interessi dei principi, e i caratteri dei primarii personaggi che si figurano sulla scena. Niuno istorico quasi di quelli che trattarono un tale argomento, ha un merito simile in questa parte. E pure è certo che quel grande avenimento è collegato intimamente con la costituzione del sistema politico di quei tempi, e non solo meritano di essere valutate tali circostanze; ma se si tralascia di porle avanti gli occhi dei leggitori, resta un accidente sì strepitoso quasi che effetto del caso congiurato al danno degli uomini.

" Coll' occasione di parlare del Buonaparte daremo notizia di un altro scrittore, Francesco Vettori, fiorentino; il cui dialogo sopra il sacco di Roma l'anno 1527, si trova nel Pluteo xxxxii codic. cartac. 29 (scrittore dello stesso secolo) della biblioteca Medico-Laurenziana. Questo dialogo è molto breve, e scritto semplicemente e famigliarmente. Egli è compreso in 191 carte e mezzo di 4°. Vi s'introducano a parlar due ignoti personaggi, coi nomi di Antonio e di Basilio. L'intreccio del dialogo consiste nel rappresentare Antonio tornato da Roma, ed a caso incontrato da Basilio; il quale godendo di rivedere un amico di cui per sei mesi non aveva avuta contezza l'aveva pianto estinto, o da ferro, o da peste nel sacco di Roma, ove allora dimorava il detto Antonio; quindi all' udire Basilio che il detto Antonio ha tanto patito nella persona,

country, had for wife a Giovanna Buonaparte, whose portrait was in the Florentine Gallery when Maria-Louisa was Queen of Etruria; and

e nella roba, che avrebbe piutosto desiderato di morire, gli propone il tema di raggionare un poco insieme del detto sacco, distribuito in due parti, 1° come passò la rovina di Roma; 2° dei casi che ad Antonio accadero. Egli dice in breve, e con maggior riforma, le stesse cose le quali racconta il Buonaparte. Sul primo è osservabile, che egli dà un tocco, che per intendere bene la storia del sacco, duopo sarebbe cominciare da tempi di Leone X. In fatto del sacco ne discorre poco, o nulla, fermandosi piuttosto ad esaminare le cagioni per le quali avvenne tal disgrazia: è sono, l'ignoranza del Cardinale di Cortona nel non sapere governare Firenza, quella di Clemente VII. nell' esacerbare i Colonesi, e nel mandare un ordine che nessuno uscisse, nè colle robe, nè colle persone di Roma; la malizia di Borbone, l'imperizia di Renzo, e Cetazio Baglioni capitani, che non seppero fare il loro dovere, e il giusto gastigo di Dio.

" Ciascuno s'accorge subito quanto maggiormente sia prezzabile il nostro codice, che ora per la prima volta si manda in luce, contenente una parte sì memorabile, ma luttuosa ed orribile, della storia d'Italia."

Voyez l'ouvrage intitulé: *Ragguaglio storico di tutto l'occorso giorno nel sacco di Roma dell'anno MDXXVII; scritto da Jacopo Buonaparte, gentiluomo samminiatese, che vi si trovò presente. Trascritto dall' autografo di esso, ed ora per la prima volta dato in luce. In Colonia* 1756.

and it was sent by that princess to the Emperor Napoleon.

The following extract* is taken from an Italian work published at Venice in 1787, which we now have before us, and which is entitled:

" Istoria

* " Nobilissima fu la prosapia ed antica dei Dalla parte in Trevigi, per le fazioni Guelfe e Ghibelline dette Malaparte e Bonaparte. Nordiglio, uomo di dottrina ed autorità, nel anno 1272, fu pretore in Parma, e compiendo gloriosamente il suo governo fu ivi fatto cavaliere Gaudente. Questo è il primo cavaliere Gaudente Trevigiano di cui abbiasi notizia, e sembra ch' ei nè fosse con Fr. Corradino di Piombino, il propagatore nella patria. Ei fu figlio di Giovanni, e fu *uxorato*, la di cui moglie, benemerita della milizia, fu Marmagna. Ebbe figlio Pietro, uomo celebre nella storia della Marca Trevigiana, da cui Odorico, e da questo Nicolò e Servadio, che furono nel 1350 Cavalieri Gaudenti, così trovandosi appresso il Mauro, del primo nelle sue genealogie Trevigiane: " *Frat.* Nicolaus ordinis militiæ fil. q. D. Odorici q. Petri q. fratris Nordigli de Bonaparte:" e dell' altro nei documenti della nostra storia. Nordiglio all' anno 1264 fu uno dei giudici delegati assieme del fratello *Bonsembiante*, che fu pure Cavaliere Gaudente, per decidere il litigio nato fra i Camminensi per la eredità di Gabrielo da Camino. Nel 1267 fu sindaco del commune con Filippo Bocasino per comporre la sempre intralciata materia di dazi coi Veneziani. Fu eletto più fiate nelle controversie piu difficili arbitro e compromissario:

" Istoria de Cavalieri Gaudenti di T. Dom. Maria Federici di Trevigi, 4°. Venezia, 1787.

" The

sario: Tale si vede nel 1285, dalle città di Trevigi, Feltre, e Bellune per contrastati diritti sopra il sopresso Vescovato di Oderzo, e la chiesa di Mussolente, affare compiuto felicemente, che fece tante vicende, scomuniche, e litigii soffrire ai Trevigiani, del quale si parla nella sentenza del 1286, 13 Febrajo cod. Ecclem. Docum. 295; e Nordiglio pronunziò la sentenza alla presenza del Prence Gherardo da Camino, registrata nel volume secondo della celebre raccolta Scotti. Fu procuratore generale della propria milizia, e tale lo era all' anno 1289. I Bonaparte quasi tutti sono sepolti onorevolmente appresso de' predicatori, e di essi nel necrologio antico del convento si serba onorata memoria. Nell' anno 1290, 3 Aprile, morì fr. Nordiglio. Fondò un ospedale per gli infermi, e lo donò ai cavalieri di San Giacopo della Spata. Quest' ospedale con chiesa era poco lungi dalla città di Trevigi, fuori della porta detta ora di St. Tomaso. I cavalieri di St. Giacopo della Spata furono nel secolo XIII. istituiti in Ispagna per difesa della religione. La famiglia Bonaparte ebbe sempre di quella chiesa ed ospedale il jus patronato. Nel 1342, 23 Settembre, Odorico q. Pietro q. fr. Nordiglio Bonaparte n'investì f. Enrico dell' ordine della milizia di S. Giacopo, sindaco e procuratore di fr. Falerio gran maestro della religione, per nome suo, e di tutti gli altri consorti. Pietro, figlio di fr. Nordiglio, fu cogli Azzoni e Beraldi unito

" The family of the Buonapartes, which is very ancient and very noble, was settled at Treviso in 1272.

" This family occurs in the most remote times. It is known, that Nordius or Nordilius Buonaparte, after being *Potestà* at Parma for a year, at the close of his government, received as recompense the cross of the order of the *Gaudenti.** The old chronicle of that town, published by Muratori (Ref. It. Scr. T. 9.

unito per distrugerre l'impero de' Caminesi in Ricciardo e Guercellone all' anno 1312, sostenendo la patria libertà. Per il merito di Pietro e de' suoi maggiori oltre al castello di S. Zenone dato a' Buonaparti, unitamente a Caminesi, Collalti, Tempesta, Avogari, Azzoni, Calza, Caseri, Beraldi si permettè portar armi in città e fuori (N. R. Calogeriana opusc. Azzoni, Avogato, tom. 36.) Bonsembiante eziandio Bonaparte fu secondo il Mauro cavaliere Gaudente, de' conjugati, la di cui moglie fu Elica, figlia di fr. Costantino del Pero, benefatrice illustre de' predicatori. Intervenne Bonsembiante nel 1279 nella lega fatta coi Padovani, Vicentini, e Trevigiani, e pacificò alcuni sedizioni di Padova. Beneficò l'ospedale di Trevigi, dove anche esiste il di lui testamento, &c. &c." Pour le reste, voyez l'ouvrage même, Tome I. pages 203, 205, 206, 255, 256, 346, 347. Tome II. pages 36, 43, 44, 84, 101.

* This order, founded at Thoulouse in 1299, under the denomination of Soldiers of Jesus Christ, was afterwards propagated

T. 9. p. 786.) speaks of him thus: 'In 1272 *D. Nordius Buonaparte* of Treviso was Potestà of Parma; and, at the close of his government, he was created a knight of the order of the Gaudenti.' On returning home, Nordius was one of the greatest propagators of this order in the Marca Trevigiana, with Corradino di Piombino. And as he was a personage possessed of great credit, his country elected him in 1283 as its plenipotentiary in the solemn treaty concluded between Treviso and Belluno; it had already made trial of him in 1267, when he was entrusted with Filippo Bocaseino to reconcile another dispute.

In

in Italy in 1233, and Parma was its cradle. Having become almost extinct, it was re-established on the 25th March, 1261, at Bologna, when its constitution was changed, and the members of the orders took the title of Knights of the Blessed and Glorious Mary, and were commonly called *Cavalieri Gaudenti*. Their object was to combat heresy and usury, and to defend the church. To become a member, it was necessary that the candidate should be noble, rich, virtuous, &c. Their uniform was a white tunic and a black cloak, on which this mark appeared ✠. The Counts of Montmorenci, Levis, Chartres, Mauléon, Boulogne, Clermont, Vendôme, Couci, Courtenay, &c. were members of this order.

" In 1285 N. Bonaparte was chosen by the towns of Treviso, Feltri, and Belluno, as arbiter regarding the rights, which each of these towns pretended to the suppressed bishoprick of Oderzo, and the church of Mussolente, pretensions which to the people of Treviso were the cause of so much trouble, and so many excommunications.

" He was not only entrusted with public affairs, but his credit and consideration were such, that he was frequently called on to decide on the affairs of individuals. We find him delegated to judge in the celebrated cause which arose respecting the inheritance of Gabrielo da Camino in 1264. We find him a witness in 1280 to the testament of Pietro Calza, &c. The consideration in which he was held by the order of chivalry to which he belonged, kept pace with the confidence reposed in him with respect both to public and private affairs. In 1288 he was already Syndic; he built a church, supported conventual knights and priests. In the following year, 1289, he was appointed Procurator-General, and in that character he took possession of the estates

estates of the order on the 10th of July. Nordius Bonaparte erected an hospital for patients, with a church, at his own expense, at a short distance from Treviso, near the Gate of St. Thomas, and he gave the direction of it to the knights of *San Giacopo della Spata*, who were afterwards invested with it in 1342 by his grandson Odorico Bonaparte. The family of Bonaparte remained always patrons of this church and hospital. Nordius Bonaparte was interred in this church in 1290, for in the old necrology of the church of S. Nicolo da Trevigi, the following article is contained: *On the 3d of April*, 1290, *died the chevalier Nordilius de Bonaparte, knight of the blessed Virgin Mary, interred in the church of S. Giacopo della Spata. He founded the Hospital Church.* The name of the wife of Nordius was Marmagna; she had an estate, which was situated between the monastery of S. Maria Novella di Trevigi, the river Silere, the public road, and the Mills Square. She afterwards sold this estate in 1290 to the *Cavalieri Gaudenti*, as appears by a deed of sale. Bonsembiante Bonaparte was as celebrated

brated as his brother, and a knight like him; and he was his brother's colleague in the affair of the princes of Camino, in 1264. In 1279, he joined the league between the people of Padua, Vicenza, and Treviso, and pacified the discontented party of Padua. He made presents to the hospital of Treviso, where his testament is preserved. According to the old Necrology, already mentioned, he died the 10th of June, 1308, and was interred in the church of the Jacobins of Treviso, as were almost all the other members of his family. He lived in the street of St. Andrew, which was that of his brother, as in the deed of sale of Marmagna already alluded to, it is said, '*Done at Treviso, in the Contrada (or street) of St. Andrew, under the portico of the Knight Bonsembiante Bonaparte.*'

" Bonsembiante married Elica, daughter of Costantino del Pero, the most illustrious family of Treviso, who was a benefactress of the Dominicans.

" In the church of Santa Egidia or Santa Maria Solare, in the city of Bologna, we find the

the body of the deceased Bonaparte with this Latin inscription:

> Arca Bonapartis corpus tenet ista beati:
> Multos sanavit, se sanctum esse probavit*.

"Peter Bonaparte, the son of the above mentioned Nordius, acted a great part in the history of Treviso: seconded by the Azzoni and the Beroaldi de Treviso, he destroyed in 1312, the tyranny exercised by Ricciardo and Guerellone, princes of Camino, over his country. On this account the Bonapartes, besides the castle of St. Zenone, received from the people of Treviso the exclusive right of bearing arms in and out of the city. After the fall of the Caminesi, Peter Bonaparte leagued himself with the Scaligeri, masters of Verona, and was Podestà of Padua. Peter left behind him two sons, of whom one, named Oderico, executed the testamentary

* The body of this *beatus* is now contained in the church of *Santa Maria della vita*, in the chapel of St. Jerome, belonging to the family of Ghisilieri. Louis visited it on the 3d of September, 1807, on his way to Bologna.

measures

measures of his grandfather, with respect to the Knights of St. Giacopo della Spata, already mentioned, and the other son, Servadius Bonaparte, was elected in 1352 prior of the order of the Gaudenti, as appears from the following extract. 'In the name of Christ, Amen. The nobles of the first rank have presented to the Captain and Potestà of Treviso, the Chevalier Servadius de Bonaparte, elected by them as their prior, demanding, according to usage, that he be confirmed.' The Potestà confirmed him immediately in public, as well as the Grand Master of the order; he lived a long time in the midst of troubles and wars, and died in 1397."

No. 2.

Proclamation made in Holland on the 9th of June, 1806.

" Louis Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitutional laws of the state, King of Holland, to all those to whose knowledge this present proclamation shall come.

" We make known by the present proclamation, to all whom it may concern, that we have accepted and do accept the crown of Holland, in conformity to the wish of the country, the constitutional laws, and a treaty strengthened by reciprocal ratifications, which has been this day presented by the deputies of the Dutch nation.

" On our accession to the throne it shall be our first care, to watch over the interests of our people. We shall make it our endeavour, to give them constant and multiplied proofs of our love and solicitude; we shall maintain the rights and liberties of our subjects, and shall

shall be incessantly occupied with their prosperity.

" The independence of the kingdom is guarantied by the Emperor our brother; the constitutional laws guarantee also to every one his claims on the state, his personal liberty, and his liberty of conscience. After this declaration we have decreed and decree as follows:

" 1st, The ministers of the marine and finances by the decree of this date shall enter on their functions. The other ministers to continue in their places till further orders.

" 2dly, All constituted authorities, civil as well as military, shall be continued till farther orders.

" 3dly, The constituted laws of this state, the treaty concluded at Paris between France and Holland, shall be immediately published, as well as the present decree, in the most authentic manner.

" Given at Paris this 5th day of June, in the year 1806, and first of our reign.

(Signed) " Louis."

CONSTITUTIONAL LAWS.

SECTION FIRST.

General Provisions.

" 1. The constitutional laws actually in force, and particularly the constitution of 1805, as well as the civil, political, and religious laws in force in the Batavian Republic, and of which the exercise is conformable to the dispositions of the treaty concluded on the 24th of May, of the present year, between his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and the Batavian Republic, shall be preserved inviolate, with the exception of those only, which shall be abolished by the present constitutional laws.

" 2. The administration of the Dutch colonies shall be regulated by particular laws. The revenues and the expenses of the colonies shall be regarded as making part of the revenues and expenses of the state.

" 3. The public debt of the state is guarantied by the present laws.

" 4.

"4. The Dutch language shall continue to be exclusively employed in laws, publications, edicts, judgments, and all other public acts without distinction.

"5. No changes shall be made in the title or the weight of the coin, except in virtue of a particular law.

"6. The old flag of the state shall be retained.

"7. The council of state shall be composed of 13 members. The ministers shall have rank, sitting, and a deliberative vote in the council of state."

SECTION SECOND.

Of Religion.

"1. The King and the law grant equal protection to all the religions professed in the state. Their authority shall determine what is necessary for the organization, protection, and exercise of their respective public worship. The whole

whole of the exercise of religion shall be confined to the interior of the temples of the different communions.

"2. The King shall enjoy in his palaces, as well as in all the places of his residence, the free and public exercise of his religion."

SECTION THIRD.

Of the King.

"1. The King shall have exclusively and without restriction the entire exercise of the government, and of all the power necessary to secure the execution of the laws, and to cause them to be respected. He shall have the appointment to all offices and all civil and military employments, to which, according to the preceding laws, the grand pensionary had the right of nomination. He shall have the entire enjoyment of the pre-eminences and prerogatives hitherto attached to that dignity. The coin of the state shall bear his effigy.

effigy. Justice shall be rendered in his name. He shall have the right of granting pardon, abolition or remission of the punishments awarded by judicial sentences, though not the power of exercising this right till he has heard in privy council the members of the national court.

"2d. On the death of the King, the successor, if a minor, shall be confided to the care of the Queen mother, and in failure of her, to such person as may be named for that purpose, by the Emperor of the French.

"3. The Regent shall be assisted by a council of the natives, its formation and functions to be determined by a particular law. The Regent shall not be personally responsible for the acts of his government.

"4. The government of the colonies, and whatever relates to their interior administration, shall belong exclusively to the King.

"5. The general administration of the kingdom shall be confided to the immediate direction of four ministers named by the King; namely, one for foreign affairs, one for

war and the marine, one for the finances, and one for the interior.

SECTION FOURTH.

Of the Law.

"1. Laws shall be formed in Holland by the concurrence of the Legislative Body, formed of the assembly of their High Mightinesses and the King. The Legislative Body shall be composed of thirty-eight members, named for five years, in the following proportions: viz. for the department of Holland, seventeen members; for Guelderland four; for Brabant four; for Friesland three; for Zealand, two; for Groningen, two; for Drenthe, one; for Over-Yssel three. The number of the members of their High Mightinesses may be augmented by law, in case of augmentation of territory.

"2. In order to proceed at present to the nomination of the nineteen members of their High

High Mightinesses, necessary to complete their number, as fixed by the preceding article, the assembly of their High Mightinesses shall present to the King a list of two candidates for each of the places to be filled up. The departmental assembly of each department shall also present a double list of candidates. The King shall then proceed to elect the members from the candidates proposed.

"3. The present Grand Pensionary shall take the title of President of their High Mightinesses, and shall act in that capacity during his life. The choice of his successors shall take place in the manner determined by the constitution of 1805.

"4. The Legislative Body shall elect from their own number, a secretary, by a majority of suffrages.

"5. The Legislative Body shall usually meet twice a year; namely, from the 15th of April to the 1st of June, and from the 15th of November to the 15th of January. It may be convoked extraordinarily by the King. On the 15th of November the five

eldest of the members of the Legislative Body shall go out. The 15th of November 1807, is fixed as the first term for a portion of the members quitting the assembly, and on this occasion, the individuals who are to go out shall be determined by lot. The ex-members shall always be re-eligible.

SECTION FIFTH.

Judiciary Power.

"1. The judiciary institutions shall be preserved as established by the constitution of 1805.

"2. With respect to the judiciary power, the King shall exercise all the rights and all the authority which have been attributed to the Grand Pensionary by articles 49, 51, 56, 79, 82, and 87, of the constitution of the year 1805.

"3. Whatever relates to the execution of military criminal justice, shall be regulated separately by an ulterior law."

TREATY

TREATY

Between the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and the Batavian Republic, represented on the one part by Ch. M. Talleyrand, minister for foreign affairs, and on the other by Messieurs Verhuel, Gogel, van Styrum, Six, and Gerard Brantzen, concluded at Paris the 24th May, 1806.

"Considering,

"1. That from the general disposition of men's minds, and the actual organization of Europe, a government without consistency and without certain duration, cannot fulfil the object for which it is instituted.

"2. That the periodical renewal of the chief of the state will always in Holland be a source of dissensions, and abroad, a constant subject of agitations and discord between the powers friendly or inimical to Holland.

"3. That an hereditary government can alone guarantie, the tranquil possession of all that is dear to the Dutch people, the free exercise of their religion, the preservation of their

their laws, their political independence, and their civil liberty.

"4. That the first of these interests is to secure a powerful protection under which they may exercise their industry in freedom, and preserve the possession of their territory and their colonies.

"5. That France is essentially interested in the happiness of the Dutch people, in the prosperity of the state, and the stability of its institutions, both on account of the northern frontiers of the empire, which are open and unprovided with strong places, and with reference to principles and interests of general policy; they have named, &c., &c., and have agreed,

"1. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, for himself, and for his successors in perpetuity, guaranties to Holland the maintenance of its constitutional rights, its independence, the integrity of its possessions in the two worlds, its political, civil, and religious liberty, as regulated by the laws actually established, and the abolition of all privileges in matters of taxation.

"2dly.

"2dly. On the formal demand of their High Mightinesses, representing the Batavian Republic, that Prince Louis Napoleon be named and crowned *hereditary* and constitutional King of Holland, his Majesty yields to this wish, and authorizes Prince Louis Napoleon to accept the crown of Holland, to be possessed by him and his natural legitimate and male descendants in the order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants. In consequence of this authorisation, Prince Louis Napoleon shall possess this crown under the title of King, and with all the power and all the authority to be determined by the constitutional laws which the Emperor Napoleon has guaranteed in the preceding article; nevertheless it is ordained, that the crown of France and Holland shall never be worn by the same person.

"3. The domains of this crown comprehend, 1st. A palace at the Hague, which is destined as a residence for the royal family. 2dly. The palace of Bois. 3d. The domain of Soestdyck. 4th. A land estate of five hundred thousand

thousand florins a-year. The law of the state secures to the King an annual sum of 1,500,000 florins of Dutch money, payable by twelfths every month.

"4th. In case of minority, the Regency shall belong of right to the Queen, in failure of whom, the Emperor of the French, in his quality of perpetual head of the Imperial family, shall name the Regent of the kingdom. He shall choose a Regent from the Princes of the royal family, and in failure of them, from the natives. The minority of the Kings to cease at the age of 18 years completed.

"5th. The dower of the Queen shall be determined by her contract of marriage. On this occasion, the dower is fixed at the annual sum of 250,000 florins, which shall be paid from the crown domains. After deduction of this sum, half of the remainder of the crown revenue shall serve to defray the expense of the household of the King while minor; the other half shall be applied in discharge of the expenses of the regency.

"6. The King of Holland shall always be a grand dignitary of the empire, under the title

title of Constable. The functions of this dignity may however be discharged, at the pleasure of the Emperor of the French, by a prince vice-constable if he shall think proper to create such a dignity.

"7. The members of the reigning family in Holland, shall remain personally subject to the provisions of the constitutional statute of the 30th of March last, forming the law of the imperial family of France.

"8. The charges and offices of the estate, except those connected with the personal service of the King's household, shall only be conferred on natives.

"9. The arms of the King shall be the ancient arms of Holland, quartered with the imperial eagle of France, and surmounted by the royal crown.

"10. There shall be concluded without delay, between the contracting powers, a treaty of commerce, in virtue of which, Dutch subjects shall be treated at all times in the ports, and in the territory of the empire, as the nation most particularly favoured. His Majesty the Emperor and King also engages, to

endeavour to cause the Dutch flag to be respected by the Barbary powers equally with that of his Majesty the Emperor of the French.

"The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged at Paris in the space of ten days.

"Paris, &c. &c."

END OF VOL. I.

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